This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Henry W. Haynes

TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING

THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE,
AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS
AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES;

AND A SEVENTH, IN QUARTO, CONTAINING

Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of ancient Greece.

THE SIXTH EDITION:

Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by the last improved Paris Edition prepared for the Press by the Author; with Memoirs of the Life of J. J. Barthelemy, written by himself, and embellished with his Portrait.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. AND W. T. CLARKE; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN; T. CADELL; J. AND A. ARCH; JOHN RICHARDSON; J. MAWMAN; W. GINGER; J. BOOKER; R. SCHOLEY; T. TEGG; BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; J. BOHN; R. SAUNDERS; E. EDWARDS; J. DUNCAN; G. B. WHITTAKER; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL; T. AND J. ALLMAN; HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD; C. TAYLOR; C. SMITH; J. WICKSTEED; AND P. MASON.

1825.

TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Scythia.—The Tauric Chersonesus.—The Pontus Euxinus.†—State of Greece, from the taking of Athens, A. C. 404, to the Departure of Anacharsis on his Travels.—The Thracian Bosphorus.—Arrival at Byzantium.‡*

ANACHARSIS, a native of Scythia, the son of Toxaris, is the author of this work, which he addresses to his friends. He begins by stating to them the motives that induced him to travel.

You know that I am descended from the sage Anacharsis, so celebrated among the Greeks, and so unworthily treated by the Scythians. The history of his life and death inspired me, from my earliest childhood, with esteem for the nation which had honoured, and with distaste for that which knew not how to appreciate, his virtues.

* The Crimea. † The Black Sea. ‡ Constantinople.

This disgust was still more increased by the arrival of a Greek slave, whom I purchased. He was of one of the principal families of Thebes in Bœotia. About thirty-six years before,* he had followed the younger Cyrus in the expedition undertaken by that prince, against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia. Being taken prisoner in one of those engagements to which the Greeks were compelled in their retreat, he frequently changed masters, and wore the chains of servitude in different nations, till chance brought him to the country in which I lived

The more I became acquainted with him, the more sensible was I of the ascendancy of an enlightened over an uninstructed people. Timagenes, for that was the Theban's name, at once delighted and humbled me by the charms of his conversation and the superiority of his knowledge. The history of the Greeks, their manners, governments, sciences, arts, festivals, and spectacles, were the inexhaustible topics of our conversation. I interrogated him, and I listened to his replies with transport. I was then just entering my eighteenth year, and my imagination added the liveliest colours to the richness of his descriptions. I had hitherto seen nothing but tents, flocks, and deserts. From this time, incapable of enduring the wandering life I had till then led, and the profound ignorance to which I was condemned, I resolved to abandon a climate where Nature scarcely provided for the necessities of man, and a

* The year 400 before Christ.

nation whose only virtue seemed to me to consist in its ignorance of vice.[a]

I have passed the prime years of my life in Greece, in Egypt, and in Persia; but my longest abode was in the former of these countries. I enjoyed the last moments of its glory, nor quitted it till I saw its liberty expire in the plain of Chæronea. While visiting its provinces, I carefully noted down every thing that I believed to merit attention; and from this journal, on my return to Scythia, I drew up the narrative of my travels; which possibly would have been more accurate, had not the ship by which I sent my books been lost in the Euxine sea.

And you, whom I was so fortunate as to know in my journey into Persia,—you, Arsames and Phedime, illustrious pair, how often have I been on the point of inserting your names in my narrative; in how lively a manner did they recur to my remembrance, when I had to pourtray some supereminent quality of the heart or mind, or to speak of benevolence and gratitude! You have claims upon this work. I partly composed it in that delightful residence of which you constitute the noblest ornament: I finished it far from Persia; yet, as I may say, always under your eyes; for the moments passed with you can never be obliterated from my memory. The recollection of these will constitute the happiness of the remainder of my life; and I have no other wish but that after my death these words should be deeply engraven on the stone

[a] Justin. Hist. lib. 2. c. 2.

A saying of this king is related, which I cannot repeat without shuddering. His favourites, by false accusations, had driven away several of his friends, and obtained possession of their fortunes. He at length discovered their villany; and one of them having laid a new information of the same kind, "Wretch!" said he to him, "I would put thee to death, were not such rascals as thou art necessary to despots."[h]

The Tauric Chersonesus produces corn in abundance; and the earth, barely grazed by the ploughshare, yields the husbandman an increase of thirty for one.[i] The commerce carried on there by the Greeks was so great, that the king was obliged to open a port capable of containing a hundred vessels[k] at Theodosia,* another city of the Bosphorus. The Athenian merchants resorted in crowds, either to this place, or to Panticapæum. They were subject to no duties, either on imports or exports; in gratitude for which the republic enrolled this prince and his children in the number of her citizens.[l]†

We found a Lesbian vessel almost ready to sail, and Cleomedes, the commander, agreed to take us on board. Whilst we were waiting for her departure, I was incessantly in motion, and could never satisfy myself with viewing the citadel, the arsenal, the harbour, the vessels, their rigging, and manner of working; I entered at random into private houses, manufactories,

[h] Athen. lib. 6. cap. 16. p. 257. [i] Strab. lib. 7. p. 311. [k] Demost. in Leptin. p. 546. Strab. lib. 7. p. 309. * Now called Caffa. [l] Demost. ibid. p. 545. † See note I. at the end of the volume.

and the most inconsiderable shops; I went out of town, and my eyes were fixed on orchards covered with fruit, and fields laden with rich harvests. My sensations were lively, and my descriptions and remarks full of animation. I could not complain of wanting witnesses to my delight; I spoke of my pleasure and admiration to every person I saw: I ran to Timagenes, to communicate to him every thing that struck me, as if it were as novel to him as to myself; I asked him whether the Lake Mæotis was not the largest sea, and Panticapæum the handsomest city, in the world?

In the course of my travels, and especially at my setting out, I experienced similar emotions, as often as nature or industry presented to me new objects; and when they were such as to elevate the soul, my admiration could be relieved only by tears, which it was impossible to withhold, or by transports of joy that Timagenes was unable to moderate. At length, as my surprise has diminished, the delights arising from that source have vanished; and I have found with pain, that we lose in pleasurable sensation what we gain in experience.

I shall not describe the feelings with which I was agitated, when, on quitting the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the sea called the Euxine gradually expanded itself to my sight.* It is an immense bason, almost every where surrounded by mountains, more or less distant from the shore, and into which near forty rivers pour

* See the map of the Pontus Euxinus.

their waters from part of Asia and Europe.[m] Its length is said[n] to be eleven thousand and one hundred stadia,† its greatest breadth three thousand three hundred.* Its borders are inhabited by various nations, who differ from each other in their origin, manners, and language.[o] At intervals, and chiefly on the southern coasts, we meet with Grecian cities founded by the inhabitants of Miletus, Megara, and Athens, built for the most part in fertile situations, and well calculated for commerce. To the east is Colchis, celebrated for the Argonautic expedition, so embellished by fable, and which rendered the Greeks better acquainted with these remote countries.

The rivers that fall into the Euxine, cover it with sheets of ice in severe winters,[p] mitigate the saltness of its waters, and convey into it an enormous quantity of mud and vegetable substances, which attract and fatten the fish.[q] Tunny, turbots, and almost every species, resort thither to deposit their spawn, and multiply the more, as the sea nourishes no voracious or destructive fish.[r] The Euxine is frequently enveloped in dark fogs, and agitated by violent tempests,[s] and that season is generally made choice of

[m] Strab. lib. 7. p. 298. [n] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85. †About 419½ leagues. * About 124½ leagues. [o] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. [p] Herodot. ap. Macrob. lib. 7. cap. 12. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 640. [q] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 913. Voyage de Chard. t. i. p. 107. [r] Arist. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 17. t. i. p. 874. Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 15. t. i. p. 507. Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 318. [s] Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 639. Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 92.

for its navigation when shipwrecks are less frequent.[t] It is not deep,[u] except towards the eastern part, where nature has formed gulfs, the bottom of which no sounding line has yet been able to reach.[x]

Whilst Cleomedes was informing us of these particulars, he had sketched on his tablets the circuit of the Euxine. When he had finished, You have, said I, traced out, without perceiving it, the figure of the bow that we make use of in Scythia—it is precisely of that shape.[y] But I see no outlet to this sea.—It communicates with the others, replied he, only by a longer and narrower channel than that we have just left.

Instead of steering directly for this strait, Cleomedes, fearful of quitting the coast, directed his course to the westward, inclining afterwards to the south. As we sailed along the shore, our conversation turned on the nations that dwell on it; and we sometimes saw the flocks approach the sea, which affords them a drink equally agreeable and salutary.[z] We were told, that in winter, when the sea is frozen,[a] the fishermen of these districts pitch their tents on its surface, and throw their lines through holes made in the ice.[b] At a distance we were shown the mouth of the Borysthenes,* that of the Ister,† and other rivers. We frequently passed the night on land, and sometimes at anchor.[c]

[t] Voyage de Tournefort. t. ii. lett. 16. [u] Strab. lib. 1. p. 50. [x] Arist. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. i. p. 545 et 546. [y] Strab. lib. 2. p. 125. Dionys. Perieg. v. 157. Schol. ibid. [z] Arrian. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 8. [a] Voyage de Tournef. t. ii. p. 130. [b] Arist. Meteor. lib. i. cap. 12. t. i. p. 543. * Now the Dnieper. † The Danube. [c] Demost. in Polycl. 1087.

One day, Cleomedes telling us that he had formerly read the history of the expedition of the younger Cyrus:—Greece then is attentive to our misfortunes, said Timagenes; that circumstance renders them at least less bitter for those whose fate it is to have survived them. And by what hand is the picture drawn? —It is, answered Cleomedes, by one of the generals who led back the Greeks into their country; Xenophon of Athens.—Alas! replied Timagenes, this is the first news I have heard of him since about thirty-seven years that fate has separated me from him. Ah! how happy should I have been once more to have seen him, after so long an absence! But I greatly fear, that death—Dispel your fears, said Cleomedes; he is still living.—Blessed be the gods! replied Timagenes: he lives! He will receive with pleasure the embraces of a soldier: of a friend, whose life he more than once has saved. The Athenians no doubt have loaded him with honours?—They have banished him, replied Cleomedes, for appearing too much attached to the Lacedæmonians![a]—But in his retirement, at least, he attracts the attention of all Greece?—No; every eye is fixed on Epaminondas of Thebes.—Epaminondas! What is his age? What is the name of his father?—He is about fifty, the son of Polymnis, and brother of Caphisias.[b]—It is he! cried Timagenes, with emotion; it is he himself! I have known him from his childhood. His features are still before

[a] Diog. Laërt. in Xenoph. lib. 2. § 51. [b] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 576, 579. Nep. in Epam. cap. 1.

my eyes: we were early united by the ties of blood. I was but a few years older than he: he was educated in the love of poverty, and the love of virtue. Never did youth make a more rapid progress in every exercise of body and mind. His masters were unable to satisfy his insatiable thirst for knowledge. I well remember, that we could never force him from the company of a gloomy and rigid Pythagorean, named Lysis.[f] Epaminondas was but in his twelfth or thirteenth year when I joined the army of Cyrus; yet the presages of a great character were frequently to be observed. It was not difficult to foresee the ascendancy he would one day acquire over other men.[g] Pardon my importunity. How has he fulfilled these brilliant expectations?—He has raised his nation by his exploits to the rank of the first state in Greece, answered Cleomedes.—O Thebes! exclaimed Timagenes; O my country! the happy abode of my infancy! Still happier Epaminondas!—An involuntary oppression hindered him from proceeding. In my turn, I cried out, Oh! how worthy is that man of being beloved who has such sensibility! and, throwing myself on his neck, My dear Timagenes! said I, since you interest yourself so much in the fortune of the spot where you chanced to be born, what must be your sentiments for the friends whom you yourself have chosen!—He answered, pressing my hand, I have often told you of that unalterable love the Greeks

[f] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2. Plut. ibid. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 17. [g] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

always retain for their country. It was with difficulty you could conceive it. Judge by my tears whether it be profound and sincere.—And he actually shed tears,

After a few moments' silence, he inquired by what means a revolution so glorious for the Thebans had been effected?—You cannot expect from me, said Cleomedes, a circumstantial detail of all that has passed since your departure. I shall confine myself to the principal events, which will suffice to inform you of the present state of Greece.

You cannot be ignorant, that, by the taking of Athens,* all our republics fell, in some measure, under subjection to the Lacedæmonians; that some were compelled to solicit, and others to accept their alliance. The shining qualities and illustrious exploits of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, seemed to threaten them with a long slavery. This great man having been called into Asia, to the aid of the Iönians, who, from their having taken part with the younger Cyrus, had reason to apprehend the utmost vengeance of Artaxerxes, several times defeated the generals of that prince; and his views enlarging with his successes, he had already conceived the project of carrying his arms into Persia, and attacking the great king even on his throne.[b]

Artaxerxes diverted the storm, and, by sums of money distributed in several of the Grecian cities,

* The year 404 before Christ. [b] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 603. Nep. in Ages. cap. 4.

detached them from the Lacedæmonians.[i] Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other states, formed a powerful league, and, assembling their combined forces in the fields of Cornea, in Bœotia,* they soon came to action with the troops of Agesilaus, whom an order from Lacedæmon had compelled to interrupt the course of his conquests. Xenophon, who fought near the person of this prince, affirms that he never saw a more obstinate battle.[k] The Lacedæmonians had the honour of the victory; and the Thebans, that of effecting their retreat without being forced to a shameful fight.[l]

This victory, by establishing the power of Sparta, gave birth to new dissensions and new confederacies. Even among the victors some were weary of their success, others of the glory of Agesilaus. The latter, headed by the Spartan Antalcidas, proposed to king Artaxerxes to give peace to the Grecian nations. Their deputies assembled, and Teribazus, the satrap of Iönia, declared to them the will of his master, in the following terms:†

"King Artaxerxes thinks it just, 1st, That the Greek cities of Asia, as well as the isles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain united to his empire; 2dly, that the other Greek cities should be free, except the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which shall

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 513. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 604. Id. Lacon. Apopht. t. ii. p. 211. * The year 393 before Christ. [k] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 605. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 659. [l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 519. Plut. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 302. † The year 387 before Christ.

appertain to the Athenians. He will join his forces to those of the states which shall accept these conditions, and employ them against those which shall refuse to receive them."[m]

The final conclusion of a treaty, which entirely changed the political system of Greece, was intrusted to the Lacedæmonians, who had originally conceived the idea, and regulated the articles; by the first of which they again brought under the yoke of the Persians the Asiatic Greeks, the preservation of whose liberty had occasioned the loss of so much blood for near a century; and by the second, which obliged the Thebans to acknowledge the independence of the cities of Bœotia, they enfeebled perhaps the only power in a condition to oppose their projects.[n] Neither the Thebans nor Argives, therefore, would accede to the treaty, till they were compelled by force: the other republics received it without opposition, and some even with joy.

A few days after,* the Spartan Phœbidas, passing with a body of troops into Bœotia, encamped in the vicinity of Thebes.[o] The city was divided into two factions, each headed by one of the chief magistrates. Leontiades, the leader of the party devoted to the Lacedæmonians, persuaded Phœbidas to take possession of the citadel, and assisted him in the enterprize.

[m] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 550. lib. 6. p. 602. Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 369. Plut. Apopht. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213. [n] Xen. ibid. p. 551. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelopid. c. 1. * The year 382 before Christ. [o] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. t. i. p. 556. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1.

This was in the time of profound peace, and while the Thebans, devoid of fear or suspicion, were celebrating the festival of Ceres.[p] So glaring an act of perfidy was rendered still more odious by the cruelties exercised on the citizens who were attached to the true interests of their country. Four hundred of these sought an asylum with the Athenians. Ismenias, the chief of that party, had, under frivolous pretexts, been loaded with chains, and put to death.

This excited a general clamour throughout Greece. The Lacedæmonians shuddered with indignation, and demanded with fury, whether Phœbidas had received orders to perpetrate such an atrocious action? Agesilaus replied, that a general may be allowed to exceed his powers when the welfare of the state requires; and that the proceeding of Phœbidas should be judged only according to this principle. Leontiades, who was then at Lacedæmon, appeased the minds of the citizens by exasperating them against the Thebans. It was determined to retain possession of the citadel of Thebes, and that Phœbidas should be condemned to pay a fine of a hundred thousand drachmas.*[r]

Thus, said Timagenes, interrupting Cleomedes, Lacedæmon profited by the crime, and punished the criminal.[s] But what now was the conduct of Agesilaus?—He was accused, replied Cleomedes, of being the secret author of the enterprize, and of the decree

[p] Xen. ibid. p. 557. Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280. [q] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 557 et 558. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 608.
* 90,000 livres (3,750l.) [r] Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280. Nep. in Pelopid. c. 1. [s] Polyb. Hist. lib. 4. p. 296.

that completed its iniquity.[t]—You had inspired me with some esteem for this prince, said Timagenes; but after so infamous an action—Hold, answered Cleomedes, know that the virtuous Xenophon has never ceased to admire, esteem, and love Agesilaus.[u] I have myself made several campaigns under that prince. I do not speak of his military talents. You will see his trophies erected in several of the provinces of Greece and Asia;[x] but thus much I can assure you, that Agesilaus was adored by the soldiers,[y] with whom he shared every difficulty and danger; that, in his Asiatic expedition, he astonished the barbarians by the simplicity of his demeanour, and the elevation of his sentiments; that he continually enforced the admiration of all who approached him by new proofs of disinterestedness, frugality, moderation, and benignity; that without thinking of his own greatness, without fearing lest others should forget it, he was of easy access, and possessed an engaging familiarity, untainted with rancour or jealousy,[z] and was ever ready to listen to our complaints. In a word, his manners were as austere as those of the most rigid Spartan; nor was the most agreeable Athenian ever endowed with a more cultivated and elegant understanding.[a] I shall add but one stroke to this eulogium. In those splendid conquests which he made in Asia, it was always his first care to render more supportable

[t] Plut. in Ages. p. 609. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. Id. in Ages. [x] Isocr. Archid. t. ii. p. 38. [y] Xen. in Ages. p. 667. [z] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 599. [a] Xen. in Ages. p. 619. Plut. in Ages. p. 596.

the hard fate of the prisoners, and to restore liberty to the slaves.[b]

Alas! what avail all these good qualities, replied Timagenes, if he has tarnished them by giving his sanction to the injustice exercised against the Thebans?—Yet he considered justice, said Cleomedes, as the first of virtues.[c] I acknowledge that he did sometimes violate it; and, without attempting to apologise for such violation, shall observe, that it was only to favour his friends, and never to distress his enemies.[d] He changed his conduct respecting the Thebans, either from a persuasion that all means were lawful to humble a power which was the rival of Sparta, or that he thought proper to avail himself of the opportunity to revenge his personal injuries. He had brought all his passions under subjection except one, which mastered him; and, strengthened by the suppression of the rest, was become tyrannical, unjust, and incapable of pardoning an offence. This was an inordinate love of glory, a sentiment which the Thebans had more than once wounded in his person,[e] especially by disconcerting his project of dethroning the king of Persia.

The decree of the Lacedæmonians was the epoch of their decline. The greater part of the allies abandoned them; and, three or four years after,* the

[b] Xen. in Ages. p. 654. [c] Plut. Lacon. Apopht. t. ii. p. 213. [d] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 598. Id. Lacon. Apopht. p. 209. [e] Xen. lib. 7. p. 621. Plut. in Ages. p. 599. * The year 379 or 378 before Christ.

Thebans shook off an odious yoke.[f] Some intrepid citizens, in one night, in a single moment, destroyed the partisans of tyranny; and their first efforts being seconded by the people, the Spartans evacuated the citadel. Young Pelopidas, one of the exiles, was among the principal leaders of this conspiracy.[g] Distinguished as he was by birth and wealth, he shortly became conspicuous by actions, the splendour of which reflected honour on his country.

All conciliatory means were henceforward impracticable to the two nations. The hatred of the Thebans was extremely augmented from having received a severe injury, and that of the Lacedæmonians from having been the aggressors. Though the latter were engaged in several wars, they made some irruptions into Bœotia. Agesilaus twice conducted thither[h] those soldiers who had ever been accustomed to conquer under his command. That general being wounded in an indecisive action, the Spartan Antalcidas, pointing to the blood streaming from his wound, said to him, "Behold the fruit of the lessons which you have given to the Thebans."[i] And indeed the latter, after at first suffering their fields to be laid waste, tried their strength in skirmishes, which soon became frequent. Pelopidas led them daily against the enemy; and, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his character, checked them in their successes, encouraged them in their defeats, and gradually taught

[f] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 566. [g] Plut. in Pelop. p. 281. Nep. in Pelop. c. 2. [h] Xen. Hist. lib. 5. p. 572 et 575. Dodwell, Annal. Xen. ad ann. 378. [i] Plut. in Pelopid. p. 285.

them to brave those Spartans, whose reputation they formerly had dreaded still more than their valour. As for himself, instructed by his own errors and the example of Agesilaus, he adopted the experience of the ablest general of Greece, and in a succeeding campaign gathered the fruit of his labours and reflections.

He was in Bœotia,[k] and marching towards Thebes,* when a body of Lacedæmonians, much more numerous than the forces under his command, were returning by the same road. A Theban horseman, who had advanced before the army, and discovered them coming out of a defile, hastened back to Pelopidas: "We have fallen," exclaimed he, "into the hands of the enemy!"—"And why should you not say the enemy have fallen into ours?" replied the general. Until this time, no nation had ventured to attack the Lacedæmonians with equal, still less with inferior, forces. The conflict was bloody, and victory hung long in suspense. The Lacedæmonians, having lost their two generals and the flower of their warriors, opened, without breaking their ranks, to let the enemy pass; but Pelopidas, wishing to remain master of the field of battle, charged them a second time, and at length enjoyed the pleasure of dispersing them in the plain.

This unexpected success astonished Lacedæmon, Athens, and all the Grecian republics, who, fatigued with the miseries of war, resolved to come to an amicable termination of their differences. The

[k] Plut. in Pelopid. p. 285. * The year 375 before Christ.

general assembly was convoked at Lacedæmon,[l] where Epaminondas appeared, with the other deputies of Thebes.

He was then in his fortieth year. He had hitherto, according to the advice of the sages, led a retired and concealed life;[m] nay, he had done still better, by enabling himself to render it of utility to others. On coming out of his minority, he took on himself the completion of his education. Notwithstanding the mediocrity of his fortune, he procured Lysis the philosopher to live with him,[n] and deeply imbibed the sublime ideas of virtue taught by the Pythagoreans; and that virtue which shone in his minutest actions, rendered him inaccessible to every species of fear. At the same time that he was fortifying his health by running, wrestling,[o] and still more by temperance, he studied mankind, consulted the most enlightened sages,[p] and meditated on the respective duties of the general and magistrate. In his public harangues, he did not disdain the ornaments of art;[q] but the eloquence of great souls was always their predominant embellishment. His talents, which have placed him in the foremost rank of orators, shone forth for the first time at the conference of Lacedæmon, the operations of which were guided by Agesilaus.

The rights and interests of the different republics

[l] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 590. [m] Plut. de Occult. Vivend. t. ii. p. 1129. [n] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 246. Cicer. de Off. lib. 1. cap. 44. t. iii. p. 223. [o] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2. [p] Id. cap. 3. [q] Id. cap. 5.

were there discussed by their respective deputies. I accidentally obtained a sight of the orations of the three ambassadors from Athens. The first was one of the priests of Ceres, elated with his birth, and proud of the encomiums which he received or bestowed upon himself.[r] He enumerated the important commissions the Athenians had entrusted to his family; talked of the benefits the states of Peloponnesus had received from the deities whose minister he was, and concluded by observing, that war could not begin too late, nor terminate too speedily. Callistratus, a celebrated orator, instead of defending the general interests of Greece, had the indiscretion to insinuate, in the presence of all the allies, that the partial union of Athens and Lacedæmon would secure to those two powers the sovereignty both of the sea and land. Autocles, the third deputy, boldly expatiated on the repeated injustice of the Lacedæmonians, who were perpetually summoning the nations to receive liberty, while they in reality held them in bondage, under the idle pretext of being guarantees to the treaty of Antalcidas.

I have already said that, by this treaty, all the Grecian cities were to be free. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, though they held the cities of Laconia in dependence, haughtily required that those of Bœotia should no longer be subject to the Thebans.[s] As they were launching out into violent complaints against the latter, and no longer expressing themselves with their customary precision, Epaminondas,

[r] Xen. Hist. lib. 6. p. 590. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 366.

wearied with their prolix invectives, said to them: "You will at least allow that we have made you lengthen your monosyllables."[t] The discourse he then pronounced made so powerful an impression on the deputies as to alarm Agesilaus. The Theban forcibly insisted on the necessity of a treaty solely founded on justice and on reason: "And does it appear to you just and reasonable," said Agesilaus, "to grant independence to the cities of Bœotia?"—"And do you," replied Epaminondas, "think it reasonable and just to acknowledge the independence of those of Laconia?"—"Explain yourself roundly," said Agesilaus, inflamed with passion; "I ask you whether the cities of Bœotia shall be free?"—"And I," answered Epaminondas, sternly, "demand of you, whether those of Laconia shall be so?"—On these words, Agesilaus erased the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the assembly separated.[u]

Such, it is said, was the issue of this famous conference. Some indeed relate it differently, and more to the advantage of Agesilaus.[x] Be that as it may, the principal articles of the decree of the assembly expressed that the troops should be disbanded, all the states enjoy their liberties, and that each of the confederate powers should be permitted to succour the oppressed cities.[y]

There was yet time for negociation; but the Lacedæmonians, hurried on to their ruin by a spirit of in-

[t] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 545. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 193. [u] Id. in Ages. t. i. p. 611. [x] Xen. lib. 6. p. 593. [y] Xen. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 355.

fatuation,[a] gave orders to their king Cleombrotus, who commanded the allied army in Phocis, to march into Bœotia. This army consisted of ten thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand horse.[a] The Thebans could only oppose to these forces six thousand infantry,[b] and a small body of cavalry; but Epaminondas was at their head, and had under him Pelopidas.

It was asserted that unlucky omens had been observed; he answered, that the best omen was to defend our country.[c] Favourable oracles were likewise reported; and on these he appeared to rely with such confidence as to be suspected of being their author.[d] His troops had deeply imbibed his own spirit. The cavalry of the enemy, collected as it were by chance, had neither experience nor emulation.[e] The allied cities had consented to this expedition with the greatest reluctance, and it was with regret that the soldiers began their march. The king of Lacedæmon was no stranger to this discouragement; but he had enemies, and was willing to risk every thing rather than furnish their hatred with new pretexts.[f]

The two armies met near a small town in Bœotia, called Leuctra. On the evening before the battle, whilst Epaminondas was making his dispositions, and anxious about an event which was to decide the fate of his country, he learned that an officer of distinction had just expired quietly in his tent. "Ye gods!"

[a] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 594. [a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 288. [b] Diod. ibid. p. 367. [c] Id. ibid. [d] Xen. ibid. p. 595. Diod. ibid. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 2. c. 3. § 8. [e] Xen. lib. 6. p. 596. [f] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 24. t. iii. p. 201.

exclaimed he, " how is it possible to find time to die in such a crisis!"[g]

The next day * was fought that battle, rendered for ever memorable by the great abilities displayed by the Theban general. Cleombrotus was posted on the right of his army with the Lacedæmonian phalanx,[h] protected by his cavalry, which formed the front line. Epaminondas, certain of the victory if he could break this formidable wing, resolved to refuse his right to the enemy, and to attack with his left. He filed off thither his best troops, drew them up fifty deep, and placed his cavalry likewise in the front. Cleombrotus observing this, changed his first disposition, but, instead of giving his wing more depth, he extended it to outflank Epaminondas. During this movement, the Theban cavalry poured on that of the Lacedæmonians, and drove them back on their phalanx, which was only twelve deep. Pelopidas, who commanded the sacred battalion,† took it in flank, and Epaminondas fell upon it with all the weight of his column. The phalanx sustained the shock with a courage worthy of a better cause and a happier success. Prodigies of valour could not save Cleombrotus. The warriors around him sacrificed their lives either

[g] Plut. de San. Tuend. t. ii. p. 136. * The 8th of July of the Julian proleptic year, 371 before Christ. [h] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Diod. lib. 15. p. 370. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 289. Arrian Tactic. p. 32. Folard. Trait. de la Colon. c. 10. in the first volume of the Translation of Polybius, p. 57. † This was a band of three hundred young Thebans, renowned for their valour.

in defence of his, or to rescue his body, which the Thebans had not the honour to carry off the field.

After his death the Peloponnesian army retired to their camp, situate on an adjoining eminence. Some Lacedæmonians proposed to renew the battle,[i] but their generals, terrified at the loss that Sparta had just sustained, and not knowing how to confide in allies who were more pleased than afflicted at her humiliation, suffered the Thebans peaceably to raise a trophy on the field of battle. The loss of the latter was inconsiderable; that of the enemy amounted to four thousand men, among whom were a thousand Lacedæmonians. Of seven hundred Spartans, four hundred were left dead on the field.[k]

The first intelligence of this victory excited in Athens only an indecent jealousy of the Thebans.[l] At Sparta it awakened those extraordinary sentiments which the laws of Lycurgus imprint in every heart. The people were attending at solemn games, where men of all ages disputed the prize of wrestling, and other gymnastic exercises. On the arrival of the messenger, the magistrates perceived that the fate of Lacedæmon was decided; and, without interrupting the exhibition, sent to inform each family of the loss they had sustained, exhorting mothers and wives to support their grief in silence. The next day, the relations of the slain were seen, with countenances expressive of joy, thronging to the temples and the

[i] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. [k] Xen. ibid. Diod. lib. 15. p. 371. [l] Xen. ibid. p. 598.

forum, to thank the gods, and mutually to congratulate each other on having given such brave citizens to the state; while the friends of those who had survived their defeat, dared not expose themselves to the public eye, or appeared only with the emblems of sorrow and of mourning. The painful sensation of shame, and the love of their country, were so prevalent among the greater number, that husbands could not bear to be looked on by their wives, and mothers trembled for the return of their sons.[m]

The Thebans were so elated with this success, that the philosopher Antisthenes said: "Methinks I see a number of scholars proud of having beaten their master!"[n] On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to confess their defeat, required that the matter in dispute should be referred by both nations to the Achæans.[o]

Two years after,[p] Epaminondas and Pelopidas were named Bœotarchs, or chiefs of the Bœotian league.* The concurrence of circumstances, mutual esteem, friendship, and uniformity of views and sentiments, formed an indissoluble union between these two great men. The one undoubtedly possessed more virtue and talents, but the other almost raised himself to a level with him by acknowledging his superiority. With this faithful companion of his labours and his glory, Epaminondas entered Peloponnesus, spreading terror and desolation through the states in

[m] Xen. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Agesil. t. i. p. 612. [n] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 59. [o] Polyb. Hist. lib. 2. p. 127. [p] Dodwell, Ann. Xen. p. 279. * The year 369 before Christ.

alliance with Lacedæmon,[q] hastening the defection of others, and breaking the yoke under which the Messenians had groaned for centuries. Seventy thousand men, of different nations, marched under his orders with an equal confidence.[r] He led them to Lacedæmon, resolved to attack her inhabitants even at their very doors, and to erect a trophy in the middle of the city.

Sparta has neither walls nor citadel;[s] but Agesilaus took care to line with troops several rising grounds within its precincts, and placed his army on the declivity of the highest of these eminences. Hence it was that he discovered Epaminondas approaching at the head of his army, and making his dispositions to pass the Eurotas, swelled by the melting of the snow. After long following him with his eyes, he only suffered these words to escape him: "What a man! What a prodigy!"[t]

Meanwhile this prince was agitated by the most cruel anxiety. Without, was a formidable army; within, a small body of soldiers, who no longer believed themselves invincible, and a great number of factious citizens, who took every kind of licence. To these were added the murmurs and complaints of the inhabitants, who saw their possessions ravaged, and their lives in danger; the general outcry, which ac-

[q] Xen. lib. 6. p. 607. Ælian. Var. Hist, lib. 4. c. 8. [r] Plut. in Pelop. p. 290; in Ages. p. 613. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 375 et 390. [s] Xen. Hist. Græc. p. 608. Id. in Ages. p. 662. Liv. lib. 34. c. 38. et lib. 39. c. 37. Nep. in Ages. c. 6. Justin. lib. 14. c. 5. [t] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 613.

cused him of being the author of the miseries of all Greece; and the painful recollection of a reign once splendid and glorious, but now dishonoured at its close by a spectacle no less novel than tremendous: for during several centuries past, the enemy had scarcely ventured on a few hasty incursions on the frontiers of Laconia;[w] and never had the Spartan women beheld the smoke of their camp.[x]

Notwithstanding these just subjects of alarm, Agesilaus exhibited a serene countenance, and despised the insults of his enemies, who, to force him to relinquish his position, alternately reproached him with cowardice, and laid waste the adjacent country in his sight. Whilst this was transacting, about two hundred conspirators having gained possession of an advantageous post difficult to force, it was proposed to him to march a body of troops against them: but Agesilaus rejected this advice, and presenting himself to the rebels, followed by a single attendant: "You have mistaken my orders," said he to them; "it was not hither you should have repaired, but to such and such a post;" pointing at the same time to the places in which it was his intention to disperse them. They instantly obeyed, and proceeded without hesitation to the different stations he assigned them.[y]

Meanwhile Epaminondas despaired of drawing the

[w] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 25. l. 4. c. 41. l. 5. c. 14. Plut. in Per. p. 170. [x] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 30. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. ap. Orat. Græc. p. 99. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 377. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. c. 42. Plut. in Ages. p. 613. [y] Plut. in Ages. p. 614.

Lacedæmonians into the plain. The winter was far advanced. Already the troops of Arcadia, of Argos, and of Elis, had abandoned the siege. The Thebans were suffering daily losses, and began to want provisions. The Athenians and other states were making levies in favour of the Lacedæmonians. These reasons induced Epaminondas to retreat. He spread devastation through the rest of Laconia; and after avoiding the army of the Athenians, commanded by Iphicrates, led back his own without interruption into Bœotia.[a]

The chiefs of the Bœotian league hold their office only for a year, at the expiration of which they should resign the command to their successors. Epaminondas and Pelopidas had retained their authority four months longer than the term prescribed by law.[a] For this they were accused, and judicially prosecuted. The latter defended himself without dignity, and had recourse to supplications; but Epaminondas appeared before his judges with the same tranquillity as at the head of his army, and thus addressed them: "The law condemns me; I merit death.[b] I only demand that this inscription be engraven on my tomb: The Thebans have put Epaminondas to death, because at Leuctra he forced them to attack and vanquish those Lacedæmonians whom they did not before dare to look in the face; because his victory saved his country, and restored liberty to Greece; because, under his command, the Thebans besieged Lacedæmon, which

[a] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 612. [a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 290. Nep. in Epam. c. 7. [b] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 540.

deemed herself too fortunate to escape from ruin; and because he rebuilt Messene, and surrounded it with strong walls!"[c] All present applauded this speech of Epaminondas, and the judges did not dare to condemn him.

Envy, which receives new animation from the failure of its projects, believed the opportunity to humble him was now arrived. In the distribution of public offices, the conqueror at Leuctra was appointed to superintend the cleaning of the streets, and the maintenance of the common sewers of the city. He gave dignity to this employment, and showed, as he himself had said, that we should not judge of men by their places, but of places by those who fill them.[d]

During the six years which have since elapsed, we have more than once seen Epaminondas render the Theban arms respected in Peloponnesus, and Pelopidas exhibit them triumphant in Thesaly.[e] We have seen the latter chosen arbitrator between two brothers, competitors for the throne of Macedon; and after having terminated their differences, and restored peace to that distracted kingdom,[f] pass to the court of Susa,[g] where, preceded by his fame, he received the most distinguished honours, entirely* disconcerted the measures of the ambassadors of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were soliciting the alliance of

[c] Nep. in Epam. c. 8. Ælian. lib. 13. c. 42. [d] Plut. de Præcept. Reip. t. ii. p. 811. [e] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 616. et 624. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 291. Dodwell, Annal. Xen. p. 280, 283. [f] Plut. ibid. [g] Xen. lib. 7. p. 620. Plut. ibid. p. 294.

* The year 367 before Christ. Dodwell, Annal.

the king of Persia, and obtained for his country a treaty of strict union with that prince.

Pelopidas last year* headed an expedition against a tyrant of Thessaly, named Alexander, and fell in battle while pursuing the enemy, whom he had reduced to a shameful flight.[h] Thebes and the allied powers wept his death: Thebes has lost one of her ablest supporters, but Epaminondas still lives. He projects to give the fatal blow to Lacedæmon. All the Grecian republics are dividing, forming leagues, and making immense preparations. It is said that the Athenians will join the Lacedæmonians, but that this union will not deter Epaminondas. The next spring will decide this mighty quarrel.—Such was the recital of Cleomedes.

After several days' favourable navigation, we arrived at the Thracian Bosphorus, the name given to the channel of which Cleomedes had spoken. Its entrance is dangerous; contrary winds often drive vessels on the neighbouring coasts,[i] where navigators are condemned either to death or slavery; for the inhabitants of that country are real barbarians, since they are cruel.[k]

On entering the channel,† the crew addressed repeated thanksgivings to Jupiter, surnamed Urius, whose temple we had seen on our left on the Asiatic coast, and who had preserved us from the danger of

* The year 364 before Christ. [h] Plut. in Pelop. p. 296. Nep. in Pelop. c. 5. Dodwell, Annal. Xen. p. 286. [i] Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 100. [k] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 380 et 412.
† See the map of the Bosphorus of Thrace.

so tempestuous a sea.[l] In the mean time, I observed to Timagenes, that the Euxine Sea receives, as it is said, near forty rivers, some of them very considerable, which cannot all escape by so inadequate an outlet.[m] What then, said I, becomes of that prodigious quantity of water which falls day and night into this vast reservoir?—You see part of it flow through the strait, answered he. The remainder is raised in vapour, by the rays of the sun; for the waters of this sea being fresher, and consequently lighter, than those of other seas, more easily evaporate.[n] And how can we be certain but that those abysses, of which we heard Cleomedes speak, may absorb part of the waters of the Euxine, and convey them to distant seas by subterraneous passages under the continent?

The Thracian Bosphorus divides Europe from Asia. Its length, from the temple of Jupiter to the city of Byzantium, where it terminates, is one hundred and twenty stadia;[o]* its breadth is various; at the entrance it is four stadia,[p]† at the other extremity fourteen;‡ and in certain places its waters form large basons and deep bays.[q]

[l] Chishull, Antiq. Asiat. p. 61. [m] Voy. de Tournefort, t. ii. p. 123. [n] Arist. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 2. t. 1. p. 552. [o] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 85. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 307 et 311. Arrian. Peripl. p. 12. ap. Georgr. Min. t. i. * 4½ leagues. [p] Herod. ibid. Strab. lib. 2. p. 125. † Almost half a mile. See the Tables at the end of Vol. VI. ‡ About a mile and a half. The ancients differ amongst themselves, and still more the moderns, respecting these measures, as well as respecting those of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont. I have generally adhered to those of Herodotus, as the best known at the time of this voyage. [q] Voy. de Tournef. t. ii. p. 156.

On each side, the country rises in an amphitheatre, and presents the most agreeable and highly diversified points of view: hills clothed with wood, and fertile valleys, form, at intervals, a striking contrast with the rocks, which suddenly change the direction of the channel.[r]

On the highest of these eminences are discovered religious monuments; on the shore, delightful houses, tranquil harbours, cities and towns enriched by commerce, and streams pouring forth the tribute of their waters. These prospects are animated, in certain seasons, by numberless boats employed in the fishery, and vessels under sail for the Euxine, or returning laden with its produce.

Towards the middle of the channel, we were shewn the place where Darius, king of Persia, passed seven hundred thousand men, he was leading against the Scythians, over a bridge of boats. The strait, which is only five stadia in breadth,* is there narrowed by a promontory, on which stands a temple of Mercury.[s] At this spot, two men placed, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, may easily make themselves heard by each other.[t] Soon after, we came in sight of the citadel and walls of Byzantium, and entered the port, after leaving on the left the little city of Chrysopolis, and discovering on the same side that of Chalcedon.

[r] Ibid. p. 125. * Somewhat more than half a mile. See the Tables. [s] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 311. Plin. lib. 4. c. 24. [t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 635.

CHAPTER II.

Description of Byzantium.---Greek Colonies.---The Strait of the Hellespont.---Voyage from Byzantium to Lesbos.

BYZANTIUM, anciently founded by the Megareans,[a] and successively rebuilt by the Milesians,[x] and other nations of Greece,[y] is situate on a promontory nearly of a triangular form. Never was there a happier or more majestic situation. The eye, while glancing over the horizon, reposes, to the right, on the sea called the Propontis; opposite, and beyond a narrow channel, on the cities of Chalcedon and Chrysopolis; then on the strait of the Bosphorus; and lastly, on fertile eminences, and a gulph which serves by way of harbour, and retreats to the depth of sixty stadia[a] within the land.*

On the point of the promontory stands the citadel. The walls of the city are built of huge square stones, so jointed as apparently to form only a single block.[a] They are much loftier on the land side than towards the water, being naturally defended by the waves,

[a] Steph. in Βυζάν. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 804. [x] Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. c. 15. [y] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. c. 8. p. 308. Justin. lib. 9. c. 1. [a] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. * 2¼ leagues. [a] Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 74. p. 1251. Herodian. lib. 3. in init.

and, in some places, by the rocks they are built on, which project into the sea.[b]

In this city, besides a gymnasium,[c] and several kinds of public edifices, we meet with all the conveniences which a rich and numerous people are able to procure.[d] They assemble in a forum, spacious enough to contain a small army ranged in order of battle.[e] There they confirm or reject the decrees of a senate more enlightened than themselves.[f] This absurdity is observable in several of the Grecian cities, and has often brought to my recollection the saying of Anacharsis to Solon: "With you the sages discuss, but the ignorant decide."[g]

The territory of Byzantium produces an abundance of grain and fruits,[h] but is exposed to the too frequent incursions of the Thracians, who inhabit the adjoining villages.[i] A surprising quantity of fish is caught in the harbour itself,[k] in autumn, when they descend from the Euxine into the lower seas; and, in spring, in their return to the Pontus.[l] This fishery, and the curing of the fish, produce great sums to the city,[m] which is crowded likewise with merchants, and

[b] Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 74. p. 1251. Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 395. [c] Arist. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502. [d] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 190. [e] Xen. ibid. Zozim. lib. 2. p. 687. [f] Demosth. de Cor. p. 487. [g] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 81. [h] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 313. Herodian. lib. 3. in init. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 63. [i] Xen. Exped. Cyr. p. 398. Polyb. ibid. [k] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Athen. lib. 3. c. 25. p. 116. Pet. Gill. Præf. ad Urb. Descrip. [l] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 6. c. 17. t. i. p. 874; lib. 8. c. 19. t. i. p. 913. Plin. lib. 9. c. 15. t. i. p. 507. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 63. [m] Arist. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.

supported by an active and flourishing commerce. Its port, sheltered on every side from tempests, attracts thither the vessels of all the Grecian nations; and its situation at the head of the strait, enables it to stop or subject to heavy duties the foreign merchants who trade in the Euxine,[n] and to famish the nations who draw from it their subsistence. Hence the constant endeavours of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to engage this city in their interests. Byzantium was then in alliance with the former.[o]

Cleomedes had taken in salt provisions at Panticapæum;[p] but as those of Byzantium are in higher estimation,[q] he there completed his stock; and, after he had concluded some business that he had to transact, we left the harbour, and entered the Propontis. The breadth of this sea[r] is said to be five hundred stadia,* and its length fourteen hundred.† On its shores stand several celebrated cities, founded or conquered by the Greeks; on the one side, Selymbria, Perinthus, and Byzanthus; on the other, Astacus in Bythinia, and Cysicus in Mysia.

The seas we had visited presented on their coasts several settlements formed by the nations of Greece.‡ I was to meet with others in the Hellespont, and doubtless also in still more distant seas. What were the motives of these emigrations? Whither were

[n] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 549. Ib. in Polycl. p. 1084. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. c. 542. [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.
[p] Demosth. in Lacr. p. 953. [q] Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120.
[r] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 86. * Near 19 leagues. † Near 53 leagues. ‡ See the Table of Greek Colonies in Vol. VI.

they directed? Have the colonies preserved any connections with the mother countries? Cleomedes laid before me several maps, and Timagenes readily answered all my questions.

Greece, said he, is a peninsula, bounded on the west by the Iönian, and on the east by the Ægean Sea. It comprises, at present, Peloponnesus, Attica, Phocis, Bœotia, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, part of Epirus, and some other small provinces. There, among other flourishing cities, we distinguish Lacedæmon, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes.

This country is of a very moderate extent,* generally barren, and almost every where mountainous. The savages, who were its ancient inhabitants, assembled together fron necessity, and at length spread themselves over different districts. Let us take a cursory view of the present state of our possessions.

To the west we occupy the neighbouring islands, as Zacynthus, Cephalonia, and Corcyra: we have even some settlements on the coast of Illyria. Further on, we have formed numerous and powerful states on the coasts of the southern part of Italy, and in almost all Sicily. Still further you will find, in the country of the Gauls, Marseilles, founded by the Phocians, the mother of several colonies established on the adjacent coasts; Marseilles, who may pride herself in having instituted sage laws, conquered the Carthaginians,† and made the sciences and arts of Greece flourish in a barbarous country.

In Africa, the opulent city of Cyrene, the capital

* About 1900 square leagues. † Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 13.

of a kingdom of the same name, and Naucratis, situate on one of the mouths of the Nile, are under our dominion.

Returning towards the north, you will find us in possession of almost the whole island of Cyprus, the isles of Rhodes and Crete, those of the Ægean Sea, great part of the coasts of Asia opposite to those islands, the isles of the Hellespont, and several districts on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine.

As a natural consequence of their situation, the Athenian colonies directed their course towards the east, as those of Peloponnesus did towards the west of Greece.[t] The inhabitants of Iönia, and several islands of the Ægean Sea, are of Athenian origin. Many cities were founded by the Corinthians in Sicily, and by the Lacedæmonians in Græcia Magna.

The excess of population in any particular district, the ambition of the chiefs,[u] the love of liberty among the private citizens, contagious and frequent maladies, false predictions of the oracles, and rash vows, gave rise to many of these emigrations; those of a more recent date originated in commercial and political views. All these motives have contributed to add new countries to Greece, and introduced the laws of nature and of sentiment into the public code."[x]

The ties by which children are bound to those who gave them birth, still subsist between the colonies

[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 12. [u] Herod. lib. 5. c. 42. [x] Bougainv. Dissert. sur les Metr. et les Col. p. 18. Spanh. de Præst. Num. p. 580. Ste. Croix, de l'Etat des Colonies des anciens Peuples, p. 65.

and the cities that founded them.[y] Considered in their various relations, they assume the endearing and respectable names of daughter, sister, and mother, and their reciprocal alliances arise from their respective titles.[z]

It is the natural duty of the mother country to protect her colonies, which, on their side, think themselves called upon to fly to her succour whenever she is attacked. From her it is that they frequently receive their priests, their magistrates[a] and generals; they adopt or retain her laws and customs, and the worship of her gods, and send annually to her temples the first fruits of their harvest. Her citizens, when among them, receive the first portion in the distribution of the victims, and are honoured with the most distinguished places at the public games and assemblies of the people.[b]

Nor do so many prerogatives, granted to the mother city, render her authority odious. The colonies are as free in their dependence as children in the homage they pay to parents worthy of their affection. Such at least is the spirit which should animate the greater part of the cities of Greece, and induce them to consider Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, as the mothers or sources of three numerous families dispersed over three different quarters of the world. But the same causes that extinguish the sentiments of nature among individuals, produce daily dissensions

[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754. [z] Spanh. ibid. p. 575.
[a] Thucyd, lib. 1. c. 56. [b] Spanh. de Præst. Num. p. 580. Bougainv. ibid. p. 36.

in these families of cities; and the real or apparent violation of their mutual duties, has but too often furnished the pretext, or motive, of those wars which have convulsed Greece.[c]

The laws I have mentioned are obligatory only on such colonies as have emigrated by order, or with the permission, of the mother country; the others, and especially those in a remote situation, confine themselves to an affectionate remembrance of the places whence they derive their origin. Generally speaking, the former are now no more than useful or necessary marts for the commerce of the mother country; and the colonists esteem themselves sufficiently fortunate when the native inhabitants, whom they have driven back into the country, suffer them to remain quiet, or consent to barter with them for their merchandise. Here, for example, the Greeks are settled on the sea-coasts: beyond them, on the right, they possess the fertile plains of Thrace, and, on the left, the confines of the vast empire of the Persians, inhabited by the Bithynians and Mysians. The possessions of the latter extend along the Hellespont, which we are now about to enter.*

This was the third strait I had met with in my voyage from Scythia. It is four hundred stadia[d]† in length We soon passed through it; for the wind was favourable, and the current rapid. The banks of this river, for so we may call this arm of the sea, are intersected by rising grounds, and covered with

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754. * See the map of the Hellespont. [d] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 85. † 15 1-8th leagues.

towns and villages. On one side we discovered the city of Lampascus, whose territory is celebrated for its vineyards;[e] on the other, the mouth of a small river called Ægos-Potamos, where Lysander gained the celebrated victory that terminated the Peloponnesian war. Further on are the cities of Sestos and Abydos, almost opposite to each other. Near the former stands the tower of Hero.[f] At this place, as I was informed, a young priestess of Venus threw herself into the waves, which had swallowed up her lover Leander, who to visit her was obliged to swim across the channel.[g]

Here I was told that the strait was only seven stadia in breadth.[h] Xerxes crossed the sea at this place over a double bridge of boats, at the head of the most formidable army that had ever invaded a country, and soon after repassed it in a fisherman's boat. On this side is the tomb of Hecuba, on the other, that of Ajax; here, the harbour whence the fleet of Agamemnon set sail for Asia, and there, the coast of the kingdom of Priam.

We were now at the extremity of the strait. Full of Homer, and animated by all his poetic passions, I eagerly entreated to be set on shore. I leaped on the land, and beheld Vulcan darting whirlwinds of fire on the foaming waves of the Scamander, raging against Achilles. I approached the gates of the city, and my heart was rent with the tender parting of Andromache

[e] Strab. lib. 13. p. 589. [f] Id. ibid. p. 591. [g] Mela, lib. 1. c. 19; lib. 2. c. 2. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 258. Ovid. Amor. lib. 2. eleg. 16. v. 31. [h] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 85.

and Hector. I saw Paris adjudge the prize of beauty, on Mount Ida, to the mother of Love. I beheld Juno arrive there; the earth smiled at her presence, and flowers sprang up beneath her steps. She wore the girdle of Venus, and never had she a juster claim to the title of queen of the gods.

But this pleasing illusion was only of short duration, for I was unable to discover the places immortalized by the poems of Homer. Not a vestige of the city of Troy is now remaining; even her ruins have disappeared.[l] Earthquakes and accumulations of soil have changed the whole face of this country.[k]

I returned to the vessel, and my heart beat with joy on learning that we were near the end of our voyage, being now in the Ægean Sea, and that the next day we should be at Mytilene, one of the principal cities of Lesbos.

We left the isles of Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos, on the right: the latter of these is famous for its gold mines,[l] and the second celebrated for its sacred mysteries. Towards the evening we perceived, in the quarter of Lemnos, which we had discovered to the westward, volumes of flame rising up at intervals into the air. I was told that these proceeded from the summit of a mountain,[m] that the island was full of subterraneous fires, that several springs of hot water were found there,[n] and that the ancient Greeks did

[l] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 9. v. 969. [k] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 10. Strab. lib. 1. p. 58. Wood, Essay on the Orig. &c. p. 308. [l] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 46. [m] Boch. Geog. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 399. [n] Eust. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 157.

not attribute these phenomena to natural causes. Vulcan, said they, has set up one of his furnaces in Lemnos, where the Cyclops are employed in forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter. The people imagine the noise that sometimes accompanies the eruption of the flames to be occasioned by the strokes of the hammer.

About the middle of the night we coasted along the isle of Tenedos, and at day-break entered the channel that separates Lesbos from the neighbouring continent.[o] Soon after we arrived opposite to Mytilene, and saw a procession in the country slowly advancing towards a temple which we discovered at a distance. This was the temple of Apollo, whose festival was celebrating.[p] Sonorous voices made the air re-echo with their songs. The day was serene, and a gentle zephyr playing in our sails. Delighted with this scene, I did not observe that we were in the harbour. Cleomedes found his friends and relations on the shore, who received him with transports of joy. With them were assembled a multitude of sailors and workmen, who all fixed their eyes on me; demanding, with a turbulent curiosity, who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. We took up our lodgings with Cleomedes, who undertook to procure to us a conveyance to the continent of Greece.

[o] Voyage de Tournef. t. i. p. 392. [p] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 3.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Lesbos—Pittacus—Arion—Terpander—Alcæus—Sappho.

NOTWITHSTANDING the impatience of Timagenes to revisit his native country, we waited near a month for the departure of a vessel to convey us to Chalcis, the capital of Eubœa. This interval I employed in obtaining information respecting every interesting object of the country.

Lesbos is estimated to be eleven hundred stadia[q] in circumference.* The island, especially in the eastern and western parts, is intersected by chains of mountains and rising grounds; some covered with vines, others with beech, cypress, and pine trees.[r] Many of the hills abound with an ordinary kind of marble in little estimation.[s] The intermediate plains produce a great quantity of corn.[t] In several places we meet with hot springs,[u] with agates, and different kinds of precious stones,[x] and almost every where with the myrtle, olive, and fig tree; but the principal

[q] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617. * Above 41 leagues. [r] Bened. Bondone Isolario. lib. 2. p. 58. Porcachi Isole piu famos. lib. 2. p. 128. Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 16. [s] Plin. lib. 36. c. 6. t. ii. p. 731. [t] Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 20. [u] Ibid. [x] Plin. lib. 37. c 10. t. iii. p. 787 et 792.

riches of the inhabitants consist in their wines, which in many countries are preferred to those of Greece.[y]

Nature has formed bays along the coast, around which have arisen cities, which are now fortified by art, and rendered flourishing by commerce. Such are Mytilene, Pyrrha, Methymna, Arisba, Eressus, and Antissa.[z] The whole history of these cities is only a continued series of revolutions. After alternately experiencing the blessings of liberty, and the wretchedness of servitude, they shook off the Persian yoke in the time of Xerxes, and more than once detached themselves from the alliance of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war,[a] though they have been constantly compelled to return to it, and remain at this day members of that union. One of these defections was attended with consequences as fatal as the cause from which it proceeded was trivial.

One of the chief citizens of Mytilene, failing in his attempt to obtain two wealthy heiresses for his sons, contrived to sow dissension among the inhabitants of the city, accused them of an intention to join the Lacedæmonians, and was so successful in his intrigues as to induce Athens to send a fleet to Lesbos to prevent or punish the defection.[b] In vain did all the adjoining cities, except Methymna, take up arms in defence of their ally. They were soon reduced by

[y] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 28. Archest. ap. eund. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 29. Id. lib. 3. p. 92. Plin. lib. 14. c. 7. t. ii. p. 717. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 31. [z] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 151. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618. [a] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 2. [b] Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 4. t. ii. p. 390.

the Athenians, who took Mytilene, razed her walls, seized on her ships, and put to death the principal inhabitants, to the number of one thousand.[c] The territory of Methymna alone was spared; the remainder of the island was divided into three thousand portions, three hundred of which were consecrated to the worship of the gods, and the others drawn for by lot by the Athenians, who, unable themselves to cultivate them, farmed them out to the ancient proprietors, at two minæ each portion; which brought in an annual revenue of ninety talents* to the new possessors.

Since that fatal period, Mytilene, after repairing her losses and rebuilding her walls,[d] has attained the same degree of splendour she enjoyed for many ages.[e] The extent of ground she occupies, the beauty of her edifices, the number and opulence of her inhabitants,[f] entitle her to the name of the capital of Lesbos. The ancient town, built in a small island, is separated from the modern city by an arm of the sea.[g] The latter extends along the shore, in a plain bounded by hills covered with vines and olive-trees,[h] beyond which is a very fertile and populous country. But however fortunate the position of Mytilene may appear, it is incommoded by prevailing winds, which sometimes render it almost insupportable. The southerly winds,

[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. tom. ii. p. 108.

* 486,000 livres (20,250*l*).

[d] Diod. lib. 17. tom. ii. p. 509.

[e] Plin. lib. 5. tom. i. p. 288. [f] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 445. Strab. lib. 13. p. 616 et 617. Cicer. de Leg. Agr. orat. 2. c. 16. t. v. p. 119. [g] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 201. [h] Long. Pastor. lib. 1. in init. Pococke, vol. ii. part 2. p. 15.

and those of the north-west, are the cause of various disorders, whilst the northern gales, which bring their cure, are so cold, that when they blow, it is difficult to remain in the streets and open places.[i] The commerce of Mytilene attracts a number of foreign vessels into her harbours; one of which is situate to the north, the other to the southward of the city. The former, which is more spacious and deeper than the latter, is sheltered from the fury of the winds and waves by a kind of mole of huge rocks.[k]

Lesbos is the abode of pleasure, or rather of the most unrestrained licentiousness.[l] The inhabitants relax their principles of morality as occasion may require, and adapt themselves to circumstances, with as much facility as they open or shut certain leaden rules made use of by their architects.[m]* Nothing in all my travels surprised me more than such a dissoluteness of manners, and the transient change which it effected in my mind. I had imbibed the impressions of infancy, without examination; and my reason, formed on the authority and example of others, found itself suddenly at a loss amongst a more enlightened people. I found in this new world a freedom of ideas and sentiments which at first gave me pain. But the men insensibly taught me to blush at my sobriety, and the women at my reserve. My progress in politeness of

[i] Vitruv. lib. 1. c. 6. [k] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 200. Strab. lib. 13. p. 617. Pococke, vol. ii. part 2. p. 15. [l] Athen. lib. 10. p. 438. Lucian. dialog. 5. p. 289. t. iii. [m] Arist. de Mor. lib. 5. c. 14. t. ii. p. 72. * These rules served to measure all sorts of plane and curve surfaces.

manners and of language was less rapid. I was like a tree transplanted from a forest into a garden, whose branches it is a work of time to bend to the fancy of the gardener.

During this course of education, I paid particular attention to the celebrated personages whom Lesbos has produced, and at the head of the most distinguished names shall place that of Pittacus, ranked by Greece among the number of her sages.[n]

The lapse of more than two centuries since his death has only added new lustre to his glory. By his valour and his prudence he rescued Mytiléne, his country, from the tyrants who had enslaved her, the war she had engaged in against the Athenians, and the intestine divisions to which she was a prey.[o] When the sovereign power of the city and of the whole island was entrusted to him, his only view in accepting it was to restore peace to his country, and give her those laws of which she stood in need.[p] One of these merits the attention of philosophers:[q] I mean the law that inflicts a double punishment on crimes committed in intoxication. Though apparently not proportioned to the offence, it was necessary to destroy the plea of ignorance in the excesses to which

[n] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 343; et alii. [o] Diod. Excerpt. p. 234. in excerpt. Vales. Strab. l. 13. p. 600. Plut. de Malign. Herod. t. ii. p. 858. Polyæn. Strab. lib. 1. c. 25. [p] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 14. tom. ii. p. 357. Laërt. lib. 1. sec. 75. [q] Arist. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 7. t. ii. p. 34. Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 25. tom. ii. p. 582. Laërt. ibid. § 76. t. i.

the love of wine hurried the Lesbians. Having finished his work of legislation, Pittacus resolved to dedicate the remainder of his life to the study of wisdom,[r] and abdicated without ostentation the sovereign power. When asked his reason, he replied, "I was terrified at seeing Periander of Corinth become the tyrant, after he had been the father of his subjects.[s] It is too difficult to be always virtuous."[t]

Music and poetry have made so great a progress at Lesbos, that, though the language spoken there be not so pure as at Athens,[u] the Greeks still continue to say that the Muses make the air re-echo with their lamentations at the funerals of the Lesbians.[x] This island possesses a school of music, which, if we credit a tradition I learned at Methymna, dates its origin in the most remote ages. I am almost ashamed to to repeat it. Yet, to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greeks, it is not improper sometimes to consider the fictions with which their annals are embellished or disfigured: for, from the history of this people, we learn the true character of their passions; and from their fables, that of their genius.

Orpheus, whose songs wrought so many prodigies, having been torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, his head and lyre were thrown into the Hebrus, a river of Thrace, and conveyed by the waves of the sea to the

[r] Plut. Hip. Maj. t. ii. p. 281. Laërt. ibid. § 75. [s] Zenob. Cent. 6. Prov. 38. [t] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 339. [u] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 341. [x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. vii. p. 338.

shores of Methymna.[y] In its passage the voice of Orpheus sent forth enchanting sounds, accompanied by the lyre, the strings of which were gently agitated by the wind.[z] The Methymnians buried the head in a place which they showed me, and hung up the lyre in the temple of Apollo. As a recompense, the god inspired them with a taste for music, and rendered the island fertile in genius.[a] Whilst the priest of Apollo was giving me this information, a citizen of Methymna observed, that the Muses had interred the body of Orpheus in a district of Thrace,[b] and that in the neighbourhood of his tomb, the song of the nightingale was more melodious than in any other country.[c]

Lesbos has produced a succession of men of genius, who have transmitted to each other the honour of excelling all the other musicians of Greece in the art of playing on the cithara.[d] The names of Arion of Methymna, and Terpander of Antissa, adorn this numerous list.

The former, who lived about three hundred years since,[e] has left a collection of poems,[f] which he sang accompanied by his lyre, as was then the practice with all the poets. After inventing, or at least improving dithyrambics,[g] a species of poetry of which I shall speak further hereafter, he adapted them to circular

[y] Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. v. 55. Phylarg. in Georg. Virg. lib. 4. v. 523. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 536. [z] Lucian. Adv. Indoct. t. iii. p. 109. [a] Hygin. Astron. Poet. lib. 2. c. 7. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Pausan. lib. 9. p. 769. [d] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1133. [e] Solin. c. 7. [f] Suid. in Ἀρίων. [g] Herod. lib. 1. c. 23. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 13. v. 25.

dances,[h] a custom still prevalent in our days. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, long detained him in that city, which he left to go into Sicily, where he gained the prize in a musical competition.[i] Embarking afterwards for Tarentum, in a Corinthian vessel, the sailors determined to throw him into the sea, to get possession of his property; but, after endeavouring in vain to move them by the harmony of his voice and lyre, he plunged into it himself.[k] A dolphin, of greater sensibility than the inexorable mariners, conveyed him, it is said, to the promontory of Tænarum: a kind of prodigy, the possibility of which they endeavoured to prove to me by reasons and examples. The fact, attested by Arion in one of his hymns,[l] and preserved in the tradition of the Lesbians, was confirmed to me at Corinth, where it was added that Periander put the sailors to death.[m] I myself saw at Tænarum,[n] on Mount Helicon,[o] and at other places, the statue of this poet, who is always represented on a dolphin. We may add, that dolphins not only appear sensible to music,[p] capable of gratitude, and friendly to man,[q] but that they have more than once repeated the affecting scene I have been mentioning.[r] They saved from shipwreck

[h] Hellan. et Dicæar. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 1403. [i] Solin. c. 7. [k] Herodot. ibid. c. 24. Oppian. Halicut. lib. v. 450. Plin. lib. 9. c. 8. t. i. p. 502. Solin. c. 12. [l] Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 12. c. 45. [m] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 24. [n] Id. ibid. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 37. p. 455. Gell. lib. 16. c. 19. [o] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 30. p. 767. [p] Arion. ap. Ælian. ibid. Plin. lib. 9. c. 8. t. i. p. 502. [q] Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 9. c. 48. t. i. p. 954. Ælian. ibid. lib. 6. c. 15. [r] Plin. lib. 9. c. 8. t. i. p. 502. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 13. p. 831.

Taras, the founder of Tarentum; and Aristotle[a] once showed me that the inhabitants of that city had preserved the memory of this fact on their coin.*

Terpander[t] lived nearly at the same time with Arion. He more than once carried off the prize at the public games of Greece:[u] but his real victories were his discoveries. He added three strings to the lyre, which till this time had only four;[x] composed airs for various instruments, which were considered as models;[y] invented several new species of poetical metre;[z] and introduced an action, and consequently an interest, into the hymns written for the prize in musical competitions.[a] Thanks are due to him likewise for having fixed by notes the measure proper for the poetry of Homer.[b] The Lacedæmonians style him, by way of excellence, the Lesbian songster;[c] and the other Greeks hold him in that high esteem with which they never fail to honour those talents which contribute to their pleasures.

About fifty years after Terpander, Alcæus and Sappho, who are both entitled to a place in the first class of lyric poets, flourished at Mytilene. Alcæus[d] was born with a restless and turbulent disposition,

[a] Arist. ap. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. § 80. * The medals of Tarentum bear the figure of a man seated on a dolphin, and holding in his hands a lyre. [t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 234. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. x. p. 213. [u] Plut. de Mus. tom. ii. p. 1132. Athen. lib. 14. c. 4. p. 635. [x] Terp. ap. Eucl. Introd. Harm. p. 19; in Autor. Antiq. Mus. t. i. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618. [y] Plut. ibid. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 35. [z] Plut. ibid. p. 1135. [a] Poll. lib. 4. c. 9. § 66. [b] Plut. ibid. p. 1132. [c] Id. de Ser. Numb. Vin. t. ii. p. 558. [d] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 563.

and seemed at first inclined to adopt the profession of arms, which he preferred to every other pursuit. His house was filled with swords, helmets, shields, and cuirasses;[e] but on his first essay in the field he shamefully fled, and the Athenians, after their victory, branded him with disgrace, by suspending his arms in the temple of Minerva at Sigæum.[f] He made great pretensions to the love of liberty, but was suspected of harbouring a secret wish for its destruction.[g] With his brothers, he first joined Pittacus, to expel Melanchrus, tyrant of Mytilene,[h] and then took part with the malecontents to subvert the government of Pittacus. The violence and indecency of the abuse which he lavished on that prince[i] evinced nothing but his jealousy. Banished from Mytilene, he some time after returned at the head of the exiles,[k] and fell into the hands of his rival, who took the noblest revenge by pardoning him.[l]

Poetry, love, and wine, consoled him for his disgrace. His early writings were filled with invectives against tyranny; he now sang the gods,[m] and above all the deities who preside over pleasures;[n] he sang his loves, his warlike labours, his travels, and the miseries of banishment.[o] His genius required to be

[e] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627. [f] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 95. [g] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617. [h] Laërt. lib. 1. § 74. [i] Id. ibid. § 81. Menag. Not. in Laërt. [k] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. [l] Laërt. ibid. § 76. [m] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. i. p. 563. [n] Horat. lib. 1. od. 32. [o] Alcæi Carm. Horat. lib. 2. od. 13.

stimulated by intemperance;[p] and it was in a kind of intoxication that he composed those works that have acquired him the admiration of posterity.[q] His style, uniformly adapted to his subject, has no other defects but what arise from the language spoken at Lesbos. He unites harmony with vigour, and richness with precision and perspicuity. He soars almost to the height of Homer, when he describes battles, or would make a tyrant tremble.[r]

Alcæus had conceived a passion for Sappho, and he one day wrote to her: "I wish to explain myself, but shame restrains me."—"Your countenance would not blush," answered she, "were not your heart culpable."[s]

Sappho was accustomed to say, "I am actuated by the love of pleasures and of virtue.[t] Without virtue nothing is so dangerous as riches, and happiness consists in the union of both."[u] She used likewise to say: "This person is distinguished by his figure, that by his virtues; the one appears beautiful at a first view, the other not less so at a second."[x]

I was one day repeating these and many similar expressions to a citizen of Mytilene, and added: "The figure of Sappho is seen upon your coins,[y] and you profess the highest veneration for her memory.[z]

[p] Athen. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 429. [q] Dion. Halicar. de Struct. Orat. tom. v. p. 187. [r] Id. de Cens. Vet. Script. tom. v. p. 421. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 631. [s] Arist. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 531. [t] Sapph. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 687. [u] Ead. apud. Schol. Pindar. Olympiad. 2. v. 96; et Pyth. 5. v. 1. [x] Ead. in Fragm. Christ. Wolf. p. 72. [y] Poll. Onom. lib. 9. c. 6. § 84. [z] Arist. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 23. t. ii. p. 576.

How is it possible to reconcile the sentiments she has left us in her writings, and the honours you publicly decree her, with the infamous manners with which she is privately reproached?" He answered me, "We are not sufficiently acquainted with particulars to form a competent judgment of her life."* Strictly speaking, no conclusion can be drawn in her favour from the love she professes for virtue, nor from the honours we pay to her talents. When I read some of her works, I dare not acquit her; but she had merit and enemies, and I dare not condemn her.

After the death of her husband, she devoted her leisure hours to letters, and undertook to inspire the Lesbian women with a taste for literature.[a] Many of them received instructions from her, and foreign women increased the number of her disciples. She loved them to excess, because it was impossible for her to love otherwise, and she expressed her tenderness with all the violence of passion. Your surprise at this will cease, when you become better acquainted with the extreme sensibility of the Greeks, and discover that amongst them the most innocent connexions often borrow the impassioned language of love. Read the dialogues of Plato, you will there see in what terms Socrates speaks of the beauty of his pupils.[b] Yet no person knew better than Plato how pure the intentions of his master were. Nor was

* It must be observed, that all the accounts we have of the dissolute manners of Sappho are to be found only in authors greatly posterior to the time in which she lived. [a] Suid. in Sapph. [b] Plut. in Phædr. Maxim. Tyr. dissert. 24. § 9. p. 297.

there less purity perhaps in those of Sappho. But a certain facility in her manners, and warmth in her expressions, were but too well calculated to expose her to the hatred of some women of distinction, humbled by her superiority, and of some of her disciples who happened not to be the objects of her preference. To this hatred, which broke forth into violence, she replied by truths and irony,[c] which completely exasperated her enemies. She then complained of their persecutions,[d] and this was a new crime. Compelled at length to fly,* she repaired to Sicily in search of an asylum,[e] where, I am told, it is intended[f] to erect a statue to her.† If the rumours you speak of are, as I believe them to be, without foundation, we may learn from her example, that great indiscretions are sufficient to tarnish the reputation of every person exposed to the eye of the public and posterity.

"The sensibility of Sappho was extreme."—"She was then exceedingly unhappy," said I. "Undoubtedly she was," replied he. "She loved Phaon, who forsook her.[g] After various attempts to bring him back, despairing of happiness either with him or without him, she took the leap of Leucata, and pe-

[c] Athen. lib. 1. p. 21. Sapph. ap. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 146; apud Stob. de Imprud. Serm. 4. p. 52. [d] Horat. lib. 2. od. 13. * See note II. at the end of the volume. [e] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 37. [f] Cicer. in Ver. lib. 4. c. 57. t. iv. p. 402. † This statue was erected some years after. It was sculptured by Silanion, one of the most celebrated artists of his time. Cicer. ibid. Tatian. ad Græc. c. 52. p. 113. [g] Athen. lib. 13. p. 596. Plin. lib. 22. c. 8. t. ii. p. 269. Ovid. Heroid. ep. 15. t. i. p. 195.

rished in the waves.[h] Death has not effaced the stain imprinted on her character; and perhaps," added he, concluding his discourse, " it will never be obliterated; for envy, which fastens on illustrious names, does indeed expire, but bequeaths her aspersions to that calumny, which never dies."

Sappho has composed hymns, odes, elegies, and a number of other pieces, principally in a kind of metre of which she was herself the inventress.[i] All of these abound in happy and brilliant expressions with which she has enriched the language.[k]

Several of the Grecian women have cultivated poetry with success, but none have hitherto attained to the excellence of Sappho,[l] and among the other poets there are few indeed who have surpassed her. What an attention does she display in the selection of her words and subjects! She has painted all the most pleasing objects in nature.[m] She has painted them in the most harmonizing colours; and so skilful is she in their distribution, as always to produce the happiest combination of light and shade.[n] Her taste is transcendent even in the mechanism of her style, in which, by an address which gives not the least idea of labour, we meet with no dissonant clashings, no violent shocks between the elements of language; and the most delicate ear would scarcely discover in a whole poem a

[h] Men. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.
[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 590. Johan. Christoph. Wolf. Vit. Sapph. p. 16 et 18.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 167.
[l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[m] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 132.
[n] Dion. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 23. p. 171.

few sounds which it had been better to suppress.[o] So perfect is the ravishing harmony of her style, that, in the greatest part of her productions, her verses flow with more grace and softness than those of Anacreon and Simonides.

But with what force of genius does she hurry us along when she describes the charms, the transports, and intoxication of love! What scenery! what warmth of colouring! Agitated like the Pythia by the inspiring god, she throws on the paper her words that burn.[p] Her sentiments fall like a cloud of arrows, or a fiery shower about to consume every thing. She animates and personifies all the symptoms of this passion, to excite the most powerful emotions in our souls.[q]

At Mytilene was it that I traced this feeble sketch of the talents of Sappho, guided by the judgment of several persons of information and abilities; it was in the silence of meditation, in one of those beautiful nights so common in Greece, on hearing, under my windows, a melting voice, accompanied by the lyre, sing an ode, in which that illustrious Lesbian abandons herself, without reserve, to the impression made by beauty on her too susceptible heart. Methought I saw her languid, trembling, and as if thunderstruck; deprived of her understanding and her senses; alternately blushing and turning pale; yield-

[o] Dion. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 23. p. 180. Demetr. Phal. § 132. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. [p] Plut. Amat. t. ii. p. 763. Horat. lib. 4. od. 9. v. 11. [q] Longin. de Subl. § 10.

ing to the diversified and tumultuous emotions of her passion, or rather of all the jarring passions of her soul.

Such is the eloquence of sentiment. Never does it produce descriptions so sublime and of so astonishing an effect, as when it selects and blends together the leading circumstances of an interesting situation;[r] thus does it act on the heart in this little poem, of which I shall only give you the first stanzas.

Blest as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee, all the while,
Softly speak, and sweetly smile.

'Twas this deprived my soul of rest,
And raised such tumults in my breast;
For while I gaz'd, in transport tost,
My breath was gone, my voice was lost:

My bosom glowed; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame;
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung.

In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd;
My blood with gentle horrors thrill'd;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and died away.*

[r] Long. de Subl. § 10. * See note III. at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Mytilene.—Description of Eubœa.—Chalcis.—Arrival at Thebes.

THE next day they pressed us to embark. The boat was fastened to the vessel,[s] and the two rudders on each side of the stern.[t] The mast was raised, the yard hoisted, the sails prepared, and every thing in readiness. Twenty rowers, ten on each side,[u] already had their hands upon the oars. We quitted Mytilene with regret. At leaving the harbour, the crew sang hymns in honour of the gods, and with loud cries addressed them in vows to obtain a favourable wind.[x]

When we had doubled Cape Malea, situate at the southern extremity of the island, we set our sails. The rowers redoubled their exertions, and we flew over the surface of the water. Our vessel, almost entirely built of fir,[y] was of that kind which make seventy thousand orgyæ* in a summer's day, and sixty thousand† in a night.[z] Some have been known

[s] Demosth. in Zenoth. p. 929. Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucipp. Amor. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 240. [t] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 146. [u] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 949. [x] Achill. Tat. lib. 2. c. 32. p. 200. [y] Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 533. * About 26 leagues and a half. † About 22 leagues three quarters. [z] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 86.

to pass rapidly, in four-and-twenty days, from the coldest regions to the hottest climates, sailing in that time from the Palus Mæotis to Æthiopia.[a]

We had a favourable passage, without any remarkable occurrences. Our tents were placed near the awning of the captain,[b] who was named Phanes. Sometimes I listened, from complaisance, to the narrative of his voyages; at others I took up my Homer, in whom I discovered new beauties. For it is in the countries which were the theatre of the events he has immortalized, that we best can judge of the accuracy of his descriptions, and the truth of his colouring.[c] I took the greatest delight in comparing his pictures with the real scenes of nature, without finding the merit of the copy in the least impaired by comparison with the original.

Meanwhile we began to discover the summit of a mountain called Ocha, which overtops every other in Eubœa.[d] The further we advanced, the more did the island seem to lengthen from south to north. It extends, said Phanes, the length of Attica, Bœotia, the country of the Locrians, and part of Thessaly;[e] but its breadth is not proportioned to its length. The country is fertile, and produces a great quantity of corn, wine, oil, and fruits.[f] It possesses also copper and iron mines.[g] Our artists are very skilful in working these

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 167. [b] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 137. [c] Wood, Essay on the original Genius of Homer. [d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 445. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280. [e] Strab. lib. 10. p. 444. [f] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 31. [g] Strab. ibid. p. 447.

metals,[h] and we pride ourselves on having been the first to discover the use of the former.[i] In several places we have hot springs, useful in the cure of various disorders.[k] But these advantages are compensated by earthquakes, which have sometimes swallowed up whole cities, and occasioned the sea to overflow large tracts of our coasts, formerly covered with inhabitants.[l]

The situation of the island, its excellent harbours, opulent cities, strong fortresses,[m] and rich harvests, which often furnish Athens with provisions, give reason to presume, that if it fell into the hands of a sovereign prince, it would easily hold in chains the neighbouring nations.[n] Our divisions, by securing them from this danger, have often inspired them with the desire, and furnished them with the means, of reducing us to subjection;[o] but their jealousy has restored to us our liberty.[p] Less the subjects than allies of the Athenians, we are permitted, in consideration of a tribute,[q] to enjoy our laws in peace, and the advantages of a democratical government. We may convoke general assemblies at Chalcis, and

[h] Steph. in Διδηψ. [i] Id. in Χαλκ. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280. [k] Steph. ibid. Strab. ibid. Arist. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 567. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 211. [l] Arist. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 567. Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 89. Strab. lib. 10. p. 447. [m] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. [n] Demosth. de Cor. p. 483. Ulpian. in Orat. ad Aristocr. p. 769. Polyb. lib. 17. p. 751. [o] Demosth. de Cor. p. 483. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. c. 7. p. 411. [p] Demosth. ibid. p. 489. Id. in Androt. p. 710. Æschin. in Ctes. p. 441. [q] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 442 et 443.

How is it possible to reconcile the sentiments she has left us in her writings, and the honours you publicly decree her, with the infamous manners with which she is privately reproached?" He answered me, "We are not sufficiently acquainted with particulars to form a competent judgment of her life."* Strictly speaking, no conclusion can be drawn in her favour from the love she professes for virtue, nor from the honours we pay to her talents. When I read some of her works, I dare not acquit her; but she had merit and enemies, and I dare not condemn her.

After the death of her husband, she devoted her leisure hours to letters, and undertook to inspire the Lesbian women with a taste for literature.[a] Many of them received instructions from her, and foreign women increased the number of her disciples. She loved them to excess, because it was impossible for her to love otherwise, and she expressed her tenderness with all the violence of passion. Your surprise at this will cease, when you become better acquainted with the extreme sensibility of the Greeks, and discover that amongst them the most innocent connexions often borrow the impassioned language of love. Read the dialogues of Plato, you will there see in what terms Socrates speaks of the beauty of his pupils.[b] Yet no person knew better than Plato how pure the intentions of his master were. Nor was

* It must be observed, that all the accounts we have of the dissolute manners of Sappho are to be found only in authors greatly posterior to the time in which she lived. [a] Suid. in Sapph. [b] Plut. in Phædr. Maxim. Tyr. dissert. 24. § 9. p. 297.

there less purity perhaps in those of Sappho. But a certain facility in her manners, and warmth in her expressions, were but too well calculated to expose her to the hatred of some women of distinction, humbled by her superiority, and of some of her disciples who happened not to be the objects of her preference. To this hatred, which broke forth into violence, she replied by truths and irony,[c] which completely exasperated her enemies. She then complained of their persecutions,[d] and this was a new crime. Compelled at length to fly,* she repaired to Sicily in search of an asylum,[e] where, I am told, it is intended[f] to erect a statue to her.† If the rumours you speak of are, as I believe them to be, without foundation, we may learn from her example, that great indiscretions are sufficient to tarnish the reputation of every person exposed to the eye of the public and posterity.

"The sensibility of Sappho was extreme."—"She was then exceedingly unhappy," said I. "Undoubtedly she was," replied he. "She loved Phaon, who forsook her.[g] After various attempts to bring him back, despairing of happiness either with him or without him, she took the leap of Leucata, and pe-

[c] Athen. lib. 1. p. 21. Sapph. ap. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. 146; apud Stob. de Imprud. Serm. 4. p. 52. [d] Horat. b. 2. od. 13. * See note II. at the end of the volume. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 37. [f] Cicer. in Ver. lib. 4. c. 57. t. iv. 402. † This statue was erected some years after. It was lptured by Silanion, one of the most celebrated artists of his e. Cicer. ibid. Tatian. ad Græc. c. 52. p. 113. [g] Athen. 13. p. 596. Plin. lib. 22. c. 8. t. ii. p. 269. Ovid. Heroid. 15. t. i. p. 195.

rished in the waves.[h] Death has not effaced the stain imprinted on her character; and perhaps," added he, concluding his discourse, " it will never be obliterated; for envy, which fastens on illustrious names, does indeed expire, but bequeaths her aspersions to that calumny, which never dies."

Sappho has composed hymns, odes, elegies, and a number of other pieces, principally in a kind of metre of which she was herself the inventress.[i] All of these abound in happy and brilliant expressions with which she has enriched the language.[k]

Several of the Grecian women have cultivated poetry with success, but none have hitherto attained to the excellence of Sappho,[l] and among the other poets there are few indeed who have surpassed her. What an attention does she display in the selection of her words and subjects! She has painted all the most pleasing objects in nature.[m] She has painted them in the most harmonizing colours; and so skilful is she in their distribution, as always to produce the happiest combination of light and shade.[n] Her taste is transcendent even in the mechanism of her style, in which, by an address which gives not the least idea of labour, we meet with no dissonant clashings, no violent shocks between the elements of language; and the most delicate ear would scarcely discover in a whole poem a

[h] Men. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.
[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 590. Johan. Christoph. Wolf. Vit. Sapph. p. 16 et 18.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 167.
[l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[m] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 132.
[n] Dion. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 23. p. 171.

few sounds which it had been better to suppress.[o] So perfect is the ravishing harmony of her style, that, in the greatest part of her productions, her verses flow with more grace and softness than those of Anacreon and Simonides.

But with what force of genius does she hurry us along when she describes the charms, the transports, and intoxication of love! What scenery! what warmth of colouring! Agitated like the Pythia by the inspiring god, she throws on the paper her words that burn.[p] Her sentiments fall like a cloud of arrows, or a fiery shower about to consume every thing. She animates and personifies all the symptoms of this passion, to excite the most powerful emotions in our souls.[q]

At Mytilene was it that I traced this feeble sketch of the talents of Sappho, guided by the judgment of several persons of information and abilities; it was in the silence of meditation, in one of those beautiful nights so common in Greece, on hearing, under my windows, a melting voice, accompanied by the lyre, sing an ode, in which that illustrious Lesbian abandons herself, without reserve, to the impression made by beauty on her too susceptible heart. Methought I saw her languid, trembling, and as if thunderstruck; deprived of her understanding and her senses; alternately blushing and turning pale; yield-

[o] Dion. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 23. p. 180. Demetr. Phal. § 132. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. [p] Plut. Amat. t. ii. p. 763. Horat. lib. 4. od. 9. v. 11. [q] Longin. de Subl. § 10.

of two promontories that project on both sides, the coasts of the island almost touch those of Bœotia.[o] This small interval, which is called Euripus, is in part filled up by a dyke that Timagenes remembered to have seen constructed in his youth. On each end of it is a tower for its defence, and a drawbridge to let vessels pass.[p] Here we may more distinctly observe a phenomenon, the cause of which has never yet been discovered. Several times in the same day, and during the night, the waters of the sea flow alternately to the north and south, employing the same time to rise and to decrease. On certain days the ebb and flow seem subjected to regular laws, like those of the main ocean. But in an instant it departs from every rule,[q] and the current is seen to change its direction every moment.[r]

Chalcis is situate on the declivity of a hill of the same name.[s] Notwithstanding the considerable extent of this city, they are still purposing to enlarge it.[t] Lofty trees, which grow in the public places and gardens,[u] shelter the inhabitants from the heat of the sun; and a copious spring, called the Fountain of Arethusa, affords them an ample supply of water.[x] The city is embellished by a theatre, gymnasia, porticoes, temples, statues, and paintings.[y] The excel-

[o] Strab. lib. 10. p. 445. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 173. [q] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 90. [r] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 162. [s] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 19. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 279. Steph. in Χαλκ. [t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 447. [u] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 19. [x] Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 279. [y] Dicæarch. Stat. ap. Græc. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 19.

lence of its situation, its copper works,[a] and the fertility of the neighbouring country, watered by the river Lelantus, and covered with olive-trees, invite to the harbour the vessels of commercial nations.[a] The inhabitants are ignorant and curious to excess: they exercise hospitality towards strangers; and, though jealous of liberty, easily bend their necks to servitude.[b]

We slept at Chalcis, and the next morning at day-break arrived at Aulis, a small town on the opposite coast, near which there is a large bay, where the fleet of Agamemnon was so long detained by contrary winds.[c]

From Aulis we passed by Salganeus, and proceeded to Anthedon, by a pretty easy road, lying partly along the sea-shore, and partly over an eminence covered with wood, where rise a number of springs.[d] Anthedon is a small town, with a forum or market-place, shaded by handsome trees, and surrounded by porticoes. The principal occupation of the inhabitants is the fishery. A few cultivate a light soil, which produces a great deal of wine, but very little corn.[e]

We had now travelled seventy stadia,* and had only a hundred and sixty† to arrive at Thebes.[f]

[a] Steph. in Χαλκ. [a] Dicæarch. ibid. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 211. [b] Dicæarch. ibid. [c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 403. [d] Dicæarch. ibid. [e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 18. * Above two leagues and a half. † Somewhat more than six leagues. [f] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 17 et 19.

As we were in a carriage, we took the road of the plain, though it was long and circuitous.[5] We soon approached this great city. At sight of the citadel, which we discovered at a distance, Timagenes could no longer suppress his sighs. Hope and fear were alternately painted on his countenance.—Here then is my country, said he; there I left a father and mother who loved me with so much tenderness! Them I cannot flatter myself to find. But I had a brother and a sister; it is possible death may have spared them to my longing eyes.—These reflections, which were perpetually recurring, distracted both our souls. How much, at this instant, did I participate in his anxiety! and how much to be pitied did he appear to me a moment after! We arrived at Thebes, and the result of his first inquiries plunged a dagger into the heart of my friend. Regret for his absence had hurried the authors of his being to the grave. His brother had fallen in battle; his sister, who had been married at Athens, was no more, and had left only a son and a daughter. His grief was extreme; but the marks of attention and tenderness which he received from citizens of every rank, from some distant relations, and especially from Epaminondas, alleviated his sufferings, and compensated in some measure for his losses.

[5] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 17.

CHAPTER V.

Stay at Thebes.—Epaminondas.—Philip of Macedon.

In the relation of a second journey which I made into Bœotia, I shall speak of the city of Thebes, and of the manners of the Thebans. In my first, my whole attention was bestowed on Epaminondas.

I was presented to him by Timagenes; and he was too well acquainted with the sage Anacharsis not to be struck with my name. He was affected with the motives that brought me into Greece, and asked me many questions concerning the Scythians; but I was so impressed with admiration and respect, that I answered with hesitation. Peceiving my embarrassment, he turned the conversation on the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand. He desired to see us often, and we visited him every day. We were present at several conversations which he held with the most enlightened Thebans, and with the ablest officers. Though he had enriched his mind with every kind of knowledge, he chose rather to hear than to speak. His reflections were always just and profound. On occasions of controversy, when it was necessary to defend himself, his answers were prompt, energetic, and precise. Nothing could be more interesting than the conver-

sation, when it turned on philosophical or political topics.[k]

I call to mind, with a mixture of pride and pleasure, the familiar terms on which I lived with perhaps the greatest man that Greece ever has produced;[l] for why should we not grant this title to the general who perfected the art of war, who eclipsed the glory of the most renowned commanders,[k] and was never vanquished but by fortune;[l] to the statesman who gave to Thebes a superiority that she had never before possessed, and which she lost immediately on his death;[m] to the negociator who, in the general assemblies of Greece, always maintained a superiority over the other deputies,[n] and found means to retain in the alliance of Thebes, his country, even the states who were jealous of the growth of this new power; to the man who equalled in eloquence the greater part of the Athenian orators,[o] was no less devoted to his country than Leonidas,[p] and perhaps more just even than Aristides?

A faithful portrait of his mind and heart would be the only eulogy worthy of Epaminondas; but who is able to define and explain that sublime philosophy which enlightened and directed all his actions; that genius, so rich in information and so fruitful in re-

[k] Nep. in Epam. c. 3. [l] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 34. t. i. p. 313. Id. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 234. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356 et 396. Ælian. lib. 7. c. 14. [l] Polyb. lib. 9. p. 548. [m] Id. lib. 6. p. 488. Diod. ibid. p. 388 et 397. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 11. p. 622. Nep. in Epam. c. 10. [n] Nep. in Epam. c. 6. [o] Cicer. in Brut. c. 13. t. i. p. 346. [p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. c. 19. t. ii. p. 123.

sources; those plans, concerted with such prudence and executed with such celerity? Who shall sufficiently describe his equality of mind, his purity of morals,* his dignity of demeanour and of manners, the attention he paid to truth even in the minutest particulars, his mildness, his benignity, and the patience with which he sustained the injustice of the people, and even of some of his friends?[q]

In a life where the private individual appears no less amiable than the public man, it will suffice promiscuously to select a few traits which serve to characterise them both. I have already related his principal achievements in the first chapter of this work.

His house was less the asylum than the sanctuary of poverty. She reigned there with the pure joy of innocence, and the unalterable serenity of happiness, surrounded by the other virtues, to which she gave new powers, while she derived lustre from their eminence. She reigned there with a privation so absolute as almost to surpass belief.[r] When on the point of setting out on an expedition into Peloponnesus, Epaminondas was obliged to borrow fifty drachmas to purchase for himself the necessary equipage;† yet was it about the same time that he rejected with indignation fifty pieces of gold, which a Thessalian prince had ventured to offer him.[s] In vain did some

* See note IV. at the end of the volume. [q] Nep. in Epam. c. 3. Plut in Pelop. p. 290. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 49. p. 699. [r] Front. Strat. lib. 4. c. 3. † About 45 livres (1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) [s] Ælian. lib. 11. c. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 193.

Thebans attempt to share their fortune with him; but he made them share the honour of relieving the wretched.

We found him one day with several of his friends whom he had assembled. He said to them: "Sphodrias has a daughter who is marriageable; but as he is too poor to give her a portion, I have taxed each of you according to your abilities. I am obliged to stay at home for a few days: but the first time I go abroad I will present to you this worthy citizen; for it is right that he should receive your bounty from yourselves, and be acquainted with his benefactors."[t] They all consented to the proposal, and left him with thanks for this mark of confidence. Timagenes, to whom this project of retirement had given some uneasiness, inquired of him the motive; to which he simply answered: I am obliged to have my mantle washed.[u] And the truth is, that he had only one.

A moment after, Mycithus, a young man to whom he was greatly attached, entered, and said: Diomedon of Cyzicus is arrived, and has applied to me to be introduced to you. He has some propositions to make on the part of the king of Persia, with orders to deliver to you a considerable sum, and has even forced me to accept five talents.—Let him enter, answered Epaminondas. "Hear me, Diomedon," said he: "if the views of Artaxerxes be consistent with the interests of my country, I stand in no need of his presents: if not, all the gold in his empire shall not induce me to betray my duty. You have judged of

[t] Nep. in Epam. c. 3. [u] Ælian. lib. 5. c. 5.

my heart by your own; I forgive you this mistake; but depart instantly from the city, lest you should corrupt the inhabitants.[x] And as for you, Mycithus, if you do not this very moment return the money that you have received, I shall delivery you up to the magistracy." We had stepped out during this conversation, but Mycithus repeated it to us immediately after.

This lesson Epaminondas had more than once given to those about him. When at the head of the army, having learnt that his shield-bearer had sold a captive his liberty: "Give me back my buckler," said he to him. "Since your hands are soiled with money, you are no longer worthy to to follow me in dangers."[y]

A zealous disciple of Pythagoras, he imitated his frugality. He denied himself the use of wine, and frequently ate nothing, during the whole day, but a little honey.[z] Music, which he had been taught by the ablest masters, sometimes constituted the amusement of his leisure hours. He excelled on the flute; and at entertainments to which he was invited sang in his turn, accompanying his voice with the lyre.[a]

The more affability he displayed in society, the greater was his severity when it became necessary to maintain the decorum suitable to each condition. One of the lowest of the people, a man abandoned to

[x] Nep. in Epam. c. 4. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 5. [y] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 11. c. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 194. [z] Athen. lib. 10. p. 419. [a] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 234. Athen. lib. 4. p. 184. Nep. in Epam. c. 2.

debauchery, had been detained in prison: "Why," said Pelopidas to his friend; "did you refuse me his pardon, and grant it to a courtezan?"—"Because," answered Epaminondas, "it ill becomes a man like you to interest yourself for a man like him."[b]

Never did he either court or decline public employments. He more than once served as a common soldier, under inexperienced generals who had been preferred to him by intrigue. More than once the troops, besieged in their camp, and reduced to the most critical extremities, had recourse to him for assistance. On these occasions he directed the operations, repulsed the enemy, and brought back the army in safety, without remembering either the injustice he had experienced, or the service he had rendered his country.[c]

He neglected no circumstance that might raise the courage of his nation, and render it formidable to others. Previous to his first campaign in Peloponnesus, he prevailed on some Thebans to wrestle with several Lacedæmonians who were then at Thebes. The former having gained the advantage, his soldiers from that moment began no longer to dread the Lacedæmonians.[d] Whilst he was encamped, in winter, in Arcadia, the deputies of one of the adjacent cities proposed to him to enter and take up his quarters in it. "No," said Epaminondas to his officers; "if they saw us seated by the fire, they would take us for ordinary men. We will remain here, notwithstanding

[b] Plut. de Rei. Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 808. [c] Nep. in Epam. c. 7. [d] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. ii. 2. c. 3. § 6.

the rigour of the season. When they see us continue our wrestling matches and military exercises, they will be lost in astonishment."[e]

Daïphantus and Iollidas, two general officers who had merited his esteem, said one day to Timagenes: You would admire him still more, had you followed him in his expeditions; had you studied his marches, his encampments, his dispositions before a battle, and his genuine courage and presence of mind in the heat of the conflict; had you beheld him, ever active and serene, penetrating, at a glance, the projects of the enemy, lulling them into a fatal security, multiplying around them almost inevitable ambushes,[f] maintaining at the same time the most rigid discipline in his army, exciting by new and efficacious methods the ardour of his soldiers,[g] and unremittingly exerting himself for their preservation, and, above every thing, for their honour.

By such engaging marks of attention he has completely won their hearts. Even when worn out with fatigue, and tormented by hunger, they are always ready to execute his orders, and rush into the midst of dangers.[h] Those panic terrors, so frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; and when they are likely to arise, a single word from him dispels or turns them to his advantage.[i] We were on the point of entering Peloponnesus, and the army of the enemy had encamped in front.[k] Whilst Epaminondas was recon-

[e] Plut. an Seni, &c. p. 788. [f] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. [g] Id. ibid. [h] Xen. Hist. lib. 7. p. 645. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 367 et 368. Polyæn. ibid. § 4 et 8. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.

noitring their position, a clap of thunder caused a great alarm among the soldiers; and the augur ordered our march to be suspended. In this moment of dismay, the general was asked, what could be the meaning of such a presage? "Why, that the enemy has chosen a bad camp," cried he with confidence. The courage of the troops revived; and the next day they forced the pass.[1]

The two Theban officers related other facts which I suppress; and, omitting several that occurred before my eyes, I shall proceed to this reflection. Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or interested views, raised, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatness which we have seen the Thebans attain. This prodigy he effected, in the first instance, by the influence of his virtues and his talents. While he thus swayed the mind of the public, by the superiority of his genius and information, he guided at will the passions of others, because he remained master of his own. But his success is principally to be imputed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent soul felt an early indignation at the sovereignty assumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, and more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an eternal hatred to those oppressors, which would have remained secluded in his own breast; but no sooner did his country confide to him the avenging of her wrongs, than he broke the chain of nations, and became a conqueror from duty.

[1] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. § 3.

He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lecedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for such a series of ages. This plan he pursued with perseverance, in despite of their power, their fame, their allies, and even of their enemies, who beheld with a jealous eye the rapid progress of the Thebans. Nor did he suffer his ardour to be checked by the opposition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace, because Epaminondas was inclined to war.[m] Meneclides was at the head of this faction. His eloquence, his authority, and the secret charms of tranquillity, so prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmness of Epaminondas finally surmounted all obstacles, and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign. Had not death terminated his career in the midst of a triumph which left the Lacedæmonians without resource, he would have made the Athenians give an account of the victories they had gained over the Greeks, and, as he said himself, have enriched the citadel of Thebes with the monuments which decorated that of Athens.[n]

We had frequent opportunities of seeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. This respectable old man was less affected with the homage paid to his own virtues, than with the honours bestowed upon his son. He more than once reminded us of the tender sentiment expressed by Epaminondas, after the battle

[m] Nep. in Epam. c. 5. [n] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 411.

of Leuctra, amid the acclamations of the army: "What gives me the most pleasure is, that my revered parents yet live and will share in my triumph."[o]

The Thebans had entrusted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas, king of Macedon.[p] Pelopidas having appeased the troubles of that kingdom, received for hostages this prince, and thirty young Macedonian noblemen.[q] Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talent with the desire of pleasing. All who saw him admired his beauty;[r] and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and graceful manner of speaking.[s] His gaiety sometimes suffered a few sallies to escape him, but these were such as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in discerning merit, no man knew better than he the art and necessity of insinuating himself into the heart.[t] The Pythagorean Nausithous, his preceptor, had instilled into him a taste for literature, which he retained all his life, and gave him lessons of temperance, which he afterwards forgot.[u] The love of pleasure made its appearance amid so many excellent qualities, but without interrupting their application; and it was already foretold, that if this prince should one day

[o] Plut. in Coriol. t. i. p. 215. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407. [q] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 291. Diod. lib. 15. p. 379. Justin. lib. 7. c. 5. Oros. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 167. [r] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 402 et 412. [s] Id. ibid. p. 401. [t] Diod. lib. 16. p. 482. Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806. [u] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. p. 130. Diod. ibid. p. 407. Athen. lib. 4. p. 167; lib. 6. p. 260.

mount the throne, he would not be governed entirely either by business or by pleasure.

Philip was assiduously attentive to Epaminondas; in the genius of a great man he studied the secret of one day becoming great;[x] he eagerly collected his observations as well as his examples; and it was in this excellent school that he learned to moderate and govern his passions,[y] to listen to the truth, to correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enslave Greece.

[x] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 292. [y] Plut. Conjug. Præc. t. ii. p. 143; in Apopht. p. 177.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Thebes.—Arrival at Athens.—Inhabitants of Attica.

I HAVE already said that Timagenes had no relations remaining, but a nephew and a niece, settled at Athens. The name of his nephew was Philotas, and that of his niece Epicharis. She had married a wealthy citizen named Apollodorus. They came to Thebes a few days after our arrival. Timagenes enjoyed in their society a pleasure and tranquillity which had long been strangers to his heart. Philotas was of the same age with myself. I began to form an intimacy with him, and he soon became my guide, my companion, my friend, the tenderest and faithfulest of friends.

Before their departure they made us promise shortly to pay them a visit. We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret which he deigned to share, and repaired to Athens on the 16th of the month Anthesterion, in the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad.* In the house of Apollodorus we found all the comforts and assistance to be expected from his opulence and connections.

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before Christ.

The next day after my arrival I flew to the Academy, where I saw Plato. I went to the work-room of the painter Euphranor. I was in that kind of delirium which is occasioned by the first sight of celebrated men, and the pleasure of approaching them. I next fixed my attention on the city, and for some days employed myself in admiring its monuments, and in visiting its environs.

Athens is, as it were, divided into three parts: the citadel, built on a rock; the city, situate around this rock;[z] and the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and the Piræus.*

The first inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel.[a] There stood the ancient town, which, though from its situation it was accessible only on the south-west,[b] was every where encompassed with walls, which are still remaining.[c]

The circumference of the modern city is sixty stadia.†[d] The walls, flanked with towers,[e] and hastily built in the time of Themistocles, exhibit on all sides fragments of columns and ruins, confusedly intermingled with the unshapen materials employed in their construction.[f]

From the city run two long walls, one of which, thirty-five stadia in length,‡ terminates at the port of

[z] Aristid. Panathen. t. i. p. 99. * See the plan of the environs of Athens. [a] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 15. [b] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 51. Wheler. Voyag. du Levant, t. ii. p. 415. [c] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 137. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 67. † 2¼ leagues. [d] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 13. Schol. ibid. [e] Id. ibid. c. 17. [f] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 93. ‡ 1 1-3d leagues.

debauchery, had been detained in prison: "Why," said Pelopidas to his friend; "did you refuse me his pardon, and grant it to a courtezan?"—"Because," answered Epaminondas, "it ill becomes a man like you to interest yourself for a man like him."[b]

Never did he either court or decline public employments. He more than once served as a common soldier, under inexperienced generals who had been preferred to him by intrigue. More than once the troops, besieged in their camp, and reduced to the most critical extremities, had recourse to him for assistance. On these occasions he directed the operations, repulsed the enemy, and brought back the army in safety, without remembering either the injustice he had experienced, or the service he had rendered his country.[c]

He neglected no circumstance that might raise the courage of his nation, and render it formidable to others. Previous to his first campaign in Peloponnesus, he prevailed on some Thebans to wrestle with several Lacedæmonians who were then at Thebes. The former having gained the advantage, his soldiers from that moment began no longer to dread the Lacedæmonians.[d] Whilst he was encamped, in winter, in Arcadia, the deputies of one of the adjacent cities proposed to him to enter and take up his quarters in it. "No," said Epaminondas to his officers; "if they saw us seated by the fire, they would take us for ordinary men. We will remain here, notwithstanding

[b] Plut. de Rei. Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 808. [c] Nep. in Epam. c. 7. [d] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. ii. 2. c. 3. § 6.

the rigour of the season. When they see us continue our wrestling matches and military exercises, they will be lost in astonishment."[e]

Daïphantus and Iollidas, two general officers who had merited his esteem, said one day to Timagenes: You would admire him still more, had you followed him in his expeditions; had you studied his marches, his encampments, his dispositions before a battle, and his genuine courage and presence of mind in the heat of the conflict; had you beheld him, ever active and serene, penetrating, at a glance, the projects of the enemy, lulling them into a fatal security, multiplying around them almost inevitable ambushes,[f] maintaining at the same time the most rigid discipline in his army, exciting by new and efficacious methods the ardour of his soldiers,[g] and unremittingly exerting himself for their preservation, and, above every thing, for their honour.

By such engaging marks of attention he has completely won their hearts. Even when worn out with fatigue, and tormented by hunger, they are always ready to execute his orders, and rush into the midst of dangers.[h] Those panic terrors, so frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; and when they are likely to arise, a single word from him dispels or turns them to his advantage.[i] We were on the point of entering Peloponnesus, and the army of the enemy had encamped in front.[k] Whilst Epaminondas was recon-

[e] Plut. an Seni, &c. p. 788. [f] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. [g] Id. ibid. [h] Xen. Hist. lib. 7. p. 645. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 367 et 368. Polyæn. ibid. § 4 et 8. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.

noitring their position, a clap of thunder caused a great alarm among the soldiers; and the augur ordered our march to be suspended. In this moment of dismay, the general was asked, what could be the meaning of such a presage? "Why, that the enemy has chosen a bad camp," cried he with confidence. The courage of the troops revived; and the next day they forced the pass.[1]

The two Theban officers related other facts which I suppress; and, omitting several that occurred before my eyes, I shall proceed to this reflection. Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or interested views, raised, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatness which we have seen the Thebans attain. This prodigy he effected, in the first instance, by the influence of his virtues and his talents. While he thus swayed the mind of the public, by the superiority of his genius and information, he guided at will the passions of others, because he remained master of his own. But his success is principally to be imputed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent soul felt an early indignation at the sovereignty assumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, and more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an eternal hatred to those oppressors, which would have remained secluded in his own breast; but no sooner did his country confide to him the avenging of her wrongs, than he broke the chain of nations, and became a conqueror from duty.

[1] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. § 3.

He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lecedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for such a series of ages. This plan he pursued with perseverance, in despite of their power, their fame, their allies, and even of their enemies, who beheld with a jealous eye the rapid progress of the Thebans. Nor did he suffer his ardour to be checked by the opposition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace, because Epaminondas was inclined to war.[m] Meneclides was at the head of this faction. His eloquence, his authority, and the secret charms of tranquillity, so prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmness of Epaminondas finally surmounted all obstacles, and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign. Had not death terminated his career in the midst of a triumph which left the Lacedæmonians without resource, he would have made the Athenians give an account of the victories they had gained over the Greeks, and, as he said himself, have enriched the citadel of Thebes with the monuments which decorated that of Athens.[n]

We had frequent opportunities of seeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. This respectable old man was less affected with the homage paid to his own virtues, than with the honours bestowed upon his son. He more than once reminded us of the tender sentiment expressed by Epaminondas, after the battle

[m] Nep. in Epam. c. 5. [n] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 411.

of Leuctra, amid the acclamations of the army: "What gives me the most pleasure is, that my revered parents yet live and will share in my triumph."[o]

The Thebans had entrusted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas, king of Macedon.[p] Pelopidas having appeased the troubles of that kingdom, received for hostages this prince, and thirty young Macedonian noblemen.[q] Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talent with the desire of pleasing. All who saw him admired his beauty;[r] and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and graceful manner of speaking.[s] His gaiety sometimes suffered a few sallies to escape him, but these were such as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in discerning merit, no man knew better than he the art and necessity of insinuating himself into the heart.[t] The Pythagorean Nausithous, his preceptor, had instilled into him a taste for literature, which he retained all his life, and gave him lessons of temperance, which he afterwards forgot.[u] The love of pleasure made its appearance amid so many excellent qualities, but without interrupting their application; and it was already foretold, that if this prince should one day

[o] Plut. in Coriol. t. i. p. 215. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407. [q] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 291. Diod. lib. 15. p. 379. Justin. lib. 7. c. 5. Oros. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 167. [r] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 402 et 412. [s] Id. ibid. p. 401. [t] Diod. lib. 16. p. 482. Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806. [u] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. p. 130. Diod. ibid. p. 407. Athen. lib. 4. p. 167; lib. 6. p. 260.

mount the throne, he would not be governed entirely either by business or by pleasure.

Philip was assiduously attentive to Epaminondas; in the genius of a great man he studied the secret of one day becoming great;[x] he eagerly collected his observations as well as his examples; and it was in this excellent school that he learned to moderate and govern his passions,[y] to listen to the truth, to correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enslave Greece.

[x] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 292. [y] Plut. Conjug. Præc. t. ii. p. 143; in Apopht. p. 177.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Thebes.—Arrival at Athens.—Inhabitants of Attica.

I HAVE already said that Timagenes had no relations remaining, but a nephew and a niece, settled at Athens. The name of his nephew was Philotas, and that of his niece Epicharis. She had married a wealthy citizen named Apollodorus. They came to Thebes a few days after our arrival. Timagenes enjoyed in their society a pleasure and tranquillity which had long been strangers to his heart. Philotas was of the same age with myself. I began to form an intimacy with him, and he soon became my guide, my companion, my friend, the tenderest and faithfulest of friends.

Before their departure they made us promise shortly to pay them a visit. We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret which he deigned to share, and repaired to Athens on the 16th of the month Anthesterion, in the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad.* In the house of Apollodorus we found all the comforts and assistance to be expected from his opulence and connections.

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before Christ.

The next day after my arrival I flew to the Academy, where I saw Plato. I went to the work-room of the painter Euphranor. I was in that kind of delirium which is occasioned by the first sight of celebrated men, and the pleasure of approaching them. I next fixed my attention on the city, and for some days employed myself in admiring its monuments, and in visiting its environs.

Athens is, as it were, divided into three parts: the citadel, built on a rock; the city, situate around this rock;[a] and the harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and the Piræus.*

The first inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel.[a] There stood the ancient town, which, though from its situation it was accessible only on the south-west,[b] was every where encompassed with walls, which are still remaining.[c]

The circumference of the modern city is sixty stadia.†[d] The walls, flanked with towers,[e] and hastily built in the time of Themistocles, exhibit on all sides fragments of columns and ruins, confusedly intermingled with the unshapen materials employed in their construction.[f]

From the city run two long walls, one of which, thirty-five stadia in length,‡ terminates at the port of

[a] Aristid. Panathen. t. i. p. 99. * See the plan of the environs of Athens. [a] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 15. [b] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 51. Wheler. Voyag. du Levant, t. ii. p. 415. [c] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 137. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 67. † 2¼ leagues. [d] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 13. Schol. ibid. [e] Id. ibid. c. 17. [f] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 93. ‡ 1 1-3d leagues.

Phalerum; and the other, which is forty stadia,* at that of the Piræus. They are almost entirely shut in at their extremity by a third, of sixty stadia;[g] and as they embrace not only these two harbours, and that of Munychia, which is in the middle, but a multitude of houses, temples, and monuments of every kind,[h] the entire circumference of the city may be estimated at nearly two hundred stadia.† [i]

To the south-west, and close to the citadel, is the rock of the Museum, separated by a little valley from the hill on which the Areopagus holds its assemblies. Other eminences contribute to render the site of this city extremely uneven. From them proceed some scanty springs of water, but not sufficient to supply the inhabitants.[k] This deficiency is remedied by wells and cisterns, in which the water acquires a coolness which is anxiously sought.[l]

The streets in general are destitute of regularity. The greater number of the houses are small and incommodious.[m] As for those which are more magnificent, you can hardly get a glimpse of their decorations, across a court, or rather a long and narrow avenue.[n] Externally, every thing has the air of simplicity, and strangers at first sight seek in Athens itself for that city, so celebrated through the world;[o] but their admiration imperceptibly increases, when

* 1½ league. [g] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. [h] Id. lib. 2. c. 17. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 1 et 2. † Above seven leagues and a half. [i] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 6. p. 87. [k] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 203. Strab. lib. 9. p. 397. [l] Theoph. Char. c. 20. [m] Dicæarch. p. 8. [n] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 435. Didym. ib. Hesych. in Ενωπ. Vitruv. lib. 6. c. 10. [o] Dicæarch. p. 8.

they attentively examine the numerous temples, porticoes, and public buildings, in the embellishment of which all the arts have contended for the prize.

The Ilissus and the Cephisus mæander around the city, and several public walks are laid out at no great distance from their banks. Farther on, hills covered with olives, laurels, and vines, terminating in lofty mountains, form, as it were, a zone around the plain, which, to the southward, is bounded only by the sea.

Attica is a kind of peninsula of a triangular form. The coast opposite to Argolis may extend in a right line about 357 stadia;* that which borders on Bœotia, 235;† and that which looks towards Eubœa, 406.‡ It contains 53,200 square stadia,§ without including the isle of Salamis, which contains no more than 2,925 square stadia. ‖

This little country, every where intersected with rocks and mountains, is by nature extremely barren, and it is by dint of cultivation alone that it repays the husbandman for his labours; but laws, industry, commerce, and the remarkable purity of the air, have been so favourable to population, that Attica is at this day covered with villages and towns, of which Athens is the capital.¶

The inhabitants of Attica are divided into three classes. The first comprehends the citizens; the second, the foreigners settled in the country; and the third, the slaves.

* About 13 leagues and a half. † Near 9 leagues. ‡ 15 1-3d leagues. § 76 square leagues. ‖ About 4 square leagues. ¶ See the map of Attica.

The slaves are distinguished into two sorts; the natives of Greece, and those brought from foreign countries. The former consist in general of those whom the fate of arms has thrown into the hands of a conqueror irritated by too obstinate a resistance.[p] The latter are brought from Thrace, Phrygia, Caria,* and the countries inhabited by barbarians.[q]

Slaves of every age, sex, and nation, form a considerable object of traffic throughout Greece. Merchants, eager after gain, are perpetually transporting them from one country to another. They heap them together, like the vilest merchandise in the market-places; and, when a purchaser appears, oblige them to dance round, to enable him to judge of their powers and agility.[r] The price they fetch varies according to their talents. Some are valued at three hundred drachmas,† others at six hundred.‡[s] Several sell for much more. The Greeks who fall into the hands of pirates are exposed to sale in the Grecian cities, and forfeit their freedom till they are able to pay a heavy ransom.[t] Both Plato and Diogenes experienced this misfortune. The friends of the former paid three thousand drachmas to redeem him.§[u] The latter remained in bondage, and taught the children of his master to be free and virtuous.[x]

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 68. * The foreign slaves were distinguished among the Greeks by the name of their respective nations; one was called *Carian*, another *Thracian*, &c. [q] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 675. [r] Menand. ap. Harpocrat. in Κύκλοι. † 270 livres (11*l.* 5*s.*) ‡ 540 livres (22*l.* 10*s.*) [s] Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896. [t] Andoc. de Mysteri. p. 18. Terent. Eunuch. act. 1. scene 2. § 2,700 livres (112*l.* 10*s.*) [u] Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 20. [x] Id. lib. 6. § 29.

Throughout almost all Greece the number of slaves infinitely exceeds that of the citizens.[y] Almost every where the utmost exertions are obliged continually to be made to keep them in subjection.[z] Lacedæmon, by having recourse to rigorous measures to force them to obedience, has often driven them to revolt. Athens, wishing to secure their fidelity by gentler methods, has made them insolent.[a]

It is estimated that there are about four hundred thousand slaves in Attica.[b] These cultivate the lands, conduct the manufactures, work the mines, labour in the quarries, and perform all the domestic offices in private houses: for the law prohibits the maintenance of idle slaves; and those who, born in a servile condition, are unable to apply themselves to laborious occupations, endeavour to become useful by their address, their talents, or application to the arts.[c] Some manufacturers employ upwards of fifty,[d] and derive from them a considerable profit. In some of these works, one slave will give a clear annual produce of a hundred,*[e] and in others, of a hundred and twenty drachmas.†[f]

Some there are who have merited their liberty by fighting for the republic,[g] or by exhibiting such proofs of zeal and attachment to their masters as are still celebrated as examples for the rest.[h] When they are

[y] Athen. lib. 5. p. 272. [z] Plut. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776. [a] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 693. [b] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272. [c] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 683. [d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 578. Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896. * 90 livres (3*l.* 15*s.*) [e] Demosth. ibid. † 108 livres (4*l.* 10*s.*) [f] Æschin. in Tim. p. 275. [g] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 705. [h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.

unable to obtain it by services, they purchase it with a *peculium*, or private property which they are permitted to amass,[l] and which they employ in presents to their masters on festive occasions; as, for instance, when a child is born, or a marriage takes place in the family.[k]

When essentially deficient in their duties, their master may load them with chains,[l] condemn them to turn the millstone,[m] prevent them from marrying, or separate them from their wives;[n] but on no account may he deprive them of life. When treated with cruelty, they are driven to desertion, or to seek an asylum at least in the temple of Theseus.[o] In this case, they require to be transferred to the service of another less rigorous master,[p] and sometimes are so fortunate as to be able to withdraw themselves from the yoke of the tyrant who oppressed them.[q]

Thus have the laws provided for their safety, but when they are intelligent, or possessed of pleasing talents, interest proves a more powerful protector than the laws. With such endowments they enrich their masters, and themselves by retaining part of their earnings. These profits accumulated enable them to procure patrons, to live in the most unbecoming luxury, and to unite the insolence of arrogant pretensions with sordidness of sentiment.[r]

[l] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 15. p. 241. [k] Terent. Phorm. act 1. scen. 1. [l] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272. [m] Terent. And. act 1. scen. 3. [n] Xen. Œcon. p. 844. [o] Poll. lib. c. 7. 12. p. 694. [p] Plut. de Superst. t. ii. p. 166. [q] Demosth. in Mid. p. 611. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 178. Athen. lib. 6. p. 266 et 267. [r] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

Severe penalties are denounced against any man who shall strike the slave of another, every act of violence being a crime against the state;[s] and the slave being scarcely to be distinguished from the free man by any external mark,* the outrage, but for this law, might fall on the citizen, whose person should be sacred.[t]

When a slave is enfranchised, he does not pass into the class of citizens, but into that of the foreign settlers, which is connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the slaves by the small portion of respect or influence it possesses in the state.

This intermediate class, to the number of about ten thousand,[u] consists of strangers settled with their families in Attica,[x] most of them exercising trades, or serving in the navy;[y] protected by the government without sharing in it; free, yet dependent; useful to the republic which fears them, because she dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and despised by a people at once proud and jealous of the distinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen.[z]

They are obliged to select from among the citizens a patron to be responsible for their conduct,[a] and to pay an annual tribute to the public treasury of twelve

[s] Demosth. in Mid. p. 610. * The slaves were obliged to shave their heads (Aristoph. in Av. 912. Schol. ibid.); but they covered them with bonnets (Id. in Vesp. 443.) Their dress should reach only to the knee (Id. in Lysis. 1153. Schol. ibid.); but many citizens wore garments of the same kind. [t] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 693. [u] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272. [x] Harpocr. in Μετοίκ. [y] Xen. ibid. [z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. [a] Harp. et Suid. in Προστάτης. Hyper. ap. Harpocr. in Ατρος.

drachmas* for the heads of families, and six drachmas† for their children.[b] Their property is forfeited when they neglect complying with the former of these conditions, and their liberty when they violate the latter;[c] but if they are fortunate enough to render any signal services to the state, they obtain an exemption from the tribute.[d]

In religious ceremonies they are distinguished from the citizens by particular functions. The men must carry part of the offerings, and their wives hold umbrellas over the free women;[e] they are exposed likewise to the insults of the people, and to degrading sallies of raillery from the stage.[f]

The republic has been known to adopt a great number of them into the class of citizens, when exhausted by long wars.[g] But if by any clandestine practices they contrive to procure admission into that respectable order, they are liable to a judicial prosecution, and sometimes even to be sold for slaves.[h]

The freed men, admitted into this class, are subject to the same tribute, the same dependence, and the same humiliations. Those who are born in servitude never can become citizens;[i] and every patron who, in a regular course of justice, can convict the slave he had enfranchised of ingratitude, is authorized

* 10 livres 16 sols (9 shillings). † 5 livres 8 sols (4 shillings and sixpence). [b] Isæus apud Harpocr. in Μετοίκ. Poll. lib. 3. c. 4. § 55. [c] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 172. [d] Id. p. 169. [e] Ælian. Varr. Hist. lib. 6. c. 1. Periz. ibid. Harpocr. in Μετοίκ. et in Σκάφ. Suid. et Hesych. in Σκάφ. [f] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 507. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 216. [h] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 134. [i] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 15. p. 239.

instantly to load him anew with chains, saying to him: Be a slave, since thou knowest not how to live free.[k]

The condition of the intermediate class begins to be more favourable.[l] For some time past they have been less insulted, but they are not therefore better satisfied with their lot; for, having obtained respect, they are now looking for distinctions, it being a painful situation to remain entirely without authority or influence in a city containing so many persons of importance.

He is a citizen by birth, who is born of a father and mother who are themselves citizens;[m] but the child of an Athenian, who marries a foreign woman, is entitled only to the condition of his mother. This law was made by Pericles, at a time when he was surrounded by children likely to perpetuate his family; and he carried it into execution with so much rigour, that nearly five thousand persons, excluded from the rank of citizens, were publicly sold by auction. He violated it when he had only one son left, whose birth he had formerly declared illegitimate.[n]

The citizens by adoption enjoy almost the same privileges as the natives. At first, when it was necessary to encourage the population of Attica, the title of citizen was bestowed on every person that came to settle in that country.[o] When that necessity

[k] Val. Maxim. lib. 2. c. 6. [l] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 693. [m] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 138. [n] Plut. in Pericl. p. 172. Ælian. lib. 6. c. 10. lib. 12. c. 24. Suid. in Δημοπ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716. [o] Thucyd. lib. 1. c .2. Schol. ibid.

ceased, Solon granted it only to those who should bring with them their families, or to persons who, exiled for ever from their country, came thither in search of a secure asylum.[p] At length it was promised to those who should render services to the state;[q] and as nothing can be more honourable than to excite the gratitude of an enlightened nation, no sooner was this privilege offered as the reward of merit, than it became the object of the ambition even of sovereigns, who reflected new lustre on it when they succeeded, and still greater when they were unable to obtain the distinction. It was formerly refused to Perdiccas, king of Macedon, who was worthy of the honour;[r] and since granted with more facility[s] to Evagoras king of Cyprus, Dionysius king of Syracuse, and other princes. It was ardently sought after so long as the Athenians rigorously observed the laws to prevent its being too easily obtained. For by these laws it is not sufficient that the candidate be adopted by a decree of the people; this decree must be confirmed by an assembly in which six thousand citizens give their suffrages by ballot; and this double election may be objected to by the lowest of the Athenians, and undergo the examination of a tribunal empowered to correct even the judgment of the people.[t]

These precautions, of late too much neglected, have not prevented persons from attaining the rank

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91. [q] Demosth. in Neær. p. 861. [r] Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Meurs. de Fort. Athen. p. 1702. [s] Epist. Phil. ad Athen. in Oper. Demosth. p. 115. Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 97. [t] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875.

of citizens, who have been a disgrace to the title,[w] and whose example will eventually justify still more dishonourable elections.

Among the citizens of Athens it is estimated that there are twenty thousand men able to bear arms.[x]

All those who are distinguished by their wealth, birth, virtues, or knowledge,[y] form here, as in almost every country, the principal class of citizens, who may be called the higher class.

This comprises men of fortune, because they support the burthens of the state; and the virtuous and enlightened, because they chiefly contribute to its preservation and glory. As for birth, it is respected, from a presumption that it transmits from father to son more noble sentiments, and a more ardent patriotism, than can be found in vulgar minds.[z]

Particular regard, therefore, is paid to families which claim their descent from the gods, the kings of Athens, or the ancient heroes of Greece; and still more to the families whose founders have displayed examples of distinguished virtue, filled the chief offices of magistracy, gained battles, or obtained crowns in the public games.[a]

[w] Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 126. [x] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Phil. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Id. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716. Ctesicl. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 272. [y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. t. ii. p. 368. Herald. Animadv. in Salm. Observ. lib. 3. p. 252. [z] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 13. t. ii. p. 353. Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 532. [a] Plat. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 88. Arist. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 522.

Some trace back their origin to the remotest ages. For more than one thousand years past, the house of the Eumolpidæ has been in possession of the priesthood of Ceres Eleusinia,[b] and that of the Eteobutadæ of the priesthood of Minerva.[c] Others have as extensive pretensions, and to give weight to them invent genealogies,[d] which few take the trouble to invalidate. For this higher class form no distinct body; they enjoy no peculiar privilege nor precedency; but their education gives them a claim to the first places, and the public opinion facilitates their attaining them.

The city of Athens contains, exclusive of the slaves, upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants.[e]

[b] Hesych. in Εὐμολπ. [c] Id. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐτεοβ.
[d] Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 284. [e] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 1124.

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the Academy.

I HAD now been some days at Athens, and had taken a rapid view of the curiosities it contains. When this ardour was somewhat abated, Apollodorus, my host, proposed to me to pay another visit to the Academy.*

We crossed a quarter of the city called the Ceramicus, or Tile Grounds; and thence, going out by the gate Dipylon, we came into fields called likewise Ceramicus,[f] and observed, as we went along, a number of tombs;[g] for no person is allowed to be buried in the city.[h] The citizens in general have their places of sepulture at their country houses,[i] or in quarters allotted them without the walls. The Ceramicus is set apart for those who have fallen in battle.[k] Among these tombs we see those of Pericles and some other Athenians who did not die in arms, but whom their country has thought deserving of the most distinguished honours.[l]

* See the plan of the academy.

[f] Meurs. Ceram. Gem. c. 19.

[g] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 70.

[h] Cicer. Epist. ad Fam. lib. 4. epist. 12. t. vii. p. 139.

[i] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1040. et in Callicl. p. 1117.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 34.

[l] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 71.

The academy is only at the distance of six stadia* [m] from the city. It is a large enclosure of ground, formerly the property of a citizen of Athens named Academus.[n] At present it contains a gymnasium, and a garden surrounded by walls,[o] adorned with delightful covered walks,[p] and embellished by waters which flow under the shade of the plane and various other kinds of trees.[q] At the entrance is the altar of Love, and the statue of that god;[r] and within, the altars of several other deities. Not far from hence Plato has fixed his residence, near a small temple, which he has dedicated to the Muses, and on a piece of ground belonging to himself.[s] He comes every day to the Academy, where we found him in the midst of his disciples, and I instantly felt myself inspired with that respect which every one must feel in his presence.[t]

Though about sixty-eight years old, he still retained a fresh and animated complexion. Nature had bestowed on him a robust body. His long voyages had impaired his health; but this he had restored by a strict attention to regimen:[u] and he was no otherwise affected than by a habit of melancholy; a habit common to him, with Socrates, Empedocles, and other illustrious men.[x]

* A quarter of a league. [m] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. c. 1. t. ii. p. 196. [n] Hesych. et Suid. in Ακαδ. [o] Suid. in τὸ Ἱππαρχ. [p] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487. [q] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 1001. [r] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 30. [s] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 603. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 5 et 20. Id. in Spens. lib. 4. c. 8. § 1. [t] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 10. [u] Senec. epist. 58. [x] Arist. Probl. sect. 30. t. ii. p. 815. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434.

He had regular features, a serious air,[y] eyes full of mildness,[z] an open forehead without hair,[a] a wide chest, high shoulders,[b] great dignity in his demeanour, gravity in his gait, and modesty in the whole of his appearance.[c]

He received me with unaffected politeness, and pronounced so handsome an eulogium on the philosopher Anacharsis, whose descendant I am, that I blushed at bearing the same name. He expressed himself slowly,[d] but the graces and persuasion seemed to flow from his lips. As I became afterwards more particularly acquainted with him, his name will often appear in my narative. I shall only here add a few particulars which I now learned from Apollodorus.

The mother of Plato, said he, was of the same family with Solon, our legislator, and his father derived his descent from Codrus, the last of our kings,[e] who died about seven hundred years ago. In his youth, painting, music, and the various exercises of the gymnasium, employed the whole of his time.[f] As he was born with a vigorous and brilliant imagination, he composed dithyrambics, tried his powers in epic poetry, compared his verses with those of Homer, and committed them to the flames.[g]* Imagining that the theatre might indemnify him for this sacrifice, he wrote some tragedies; but, whilst the actors were

[y] Laërt. lib. 3. § 28. [z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 10. [a] Nearth. apud Laërt. lib. 3. § 4. [b] Suid. in Πλάτ. Senec. epist. 58. [c] Ælian. lib. 3. c. 19. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 361. [d] Laërt. lib. 3. § 5. [e] Ib. § 1. Suid. in Πλάτ. [f] Laërt. ib. § 4 et 5. [g] Æl. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 30. * While

preparing them for representation, he became acquainted with Socrates, suppressed his pieces, and devoted himself entirely to the study of philosophy.[h]

He now felt an ardent desire to make himself useful to mankind.[i] The Peloponnesian war had destroyed every principle of virtue, and corrupted the public manners. The glory of restoring them excited his ambition. Agitated night and day by this sublime idea, he waited with impatience for the moment, when, invested with the functions of magistracy, he should have it in his power to display his zeal and talents; but the rude shocks which the republic had met with in the latter years of the war, those frequent revolutions which in so short a time exhibited tyranny under forms daily more terrific, the death of Socrates, his master and his friend, and the reflection that such a series of events gave rise to in his mind, soon convinced him that all governments labour under incurable disorders; that the affairs of mortals, if we may so speak, are desperate; and that they will never know happiness till philosophy shall take them under her guidance.[k] Abandoning, therefore, his project, he resolved to increase his stock of knowledge, and to dedicate his acquirements to the instruction of his

throwing them into the fire, he parodied this verse of Homer—

"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Thetis asks your aid:*"

Varying it thus---

"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Plato asks your aid.*"

Hom. Il. 18. v. 392. Eust. t. ii. p. 1149. Laërt. lib. 3. § 4 et 5.

[h] Laërt. lib. 3. § 5. [i] Plat. epist. 7. t. iii. p. 324. [k] Plat. epist. 7. t. iii. p. 326.

country. With this view he travelled to Megara, into Italy, Cyrenaica, and Egypt, and wherever the human mind had made any progress in improvement.[l]

He was about forty years of age[m] when he undertook his voyage to Sicily, to visit Mount Ætna.[n] Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was desirous of discoursing with him. The conversation turned on happiness, justice, and real greatness. Plato having maintained that no human being could be so abject and wretched as an unjust prince, Dionysius exclaimed in a rage: "You speak like a dotard!"—"And you like a tyrant," answered Plato. This retort had nearly cost him his life. Dionysius would not suffer him to go on board a galley returning into Greece, until he had made the captain promise to throw him into the sea, or sell him for a slave. He was sold, ransomed, and brought back to his country. Some time after, the king of Syracuse, incapable of remorse, but desirous not to lose the good opinion of the Greeks, wrote to him, and having requested him to spare him in his discourses, received only this contemptuous answer: "I have not leisure to remember Dionysius."[o]

On his return, Plato entered on a mode of life from which he has never deviated. He has persisted in abstaining from all public affairs, because, according to him, we are no longer capable of being con-

[l] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. c. 29. t. ii. p. 228. Laërt. lib. 3. § 6. Quintil. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 81. [m] Plat. ibid. p. 324. [n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 959. Laërt. lib. 3. § 18. [o] Laërt. lib. 3. § 19 et 21.

ducted to good, either by persuasion or by force;[p] but, collecting the scattered rays of knowledge, which he found in the countries he has visited, and reconciling, as far as is practicable, the opinions of preceding philosophers, he has composed a system which he explains in his writings and his conferences. His works are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal speaker; and it is alleged, that under the sanction of his name, he has given the world many ideas which he himself has conceived or adopted.[q]

His merit has created him enemies, and he has drawn others upon himself by the poignant irony scattered through his productions against several celebrated authors.[r] He puts it, it is true, into the mouth of Socrates; but the address with which he handles it, and different anecdotes of him which might be adduced, prove that, in his youth at least, he had no small propensity to satire.[s] His enemies however do not disturb that tranquillity which his success or his virtues maintain within his heart. For he really possesses virtues, some which he has received from nature, and others which he has had the courage to acquire. He was born impetuous; at present he is the mildest and most patient of men.[t] The love of glory or celebrity seems to me his predominant, or rather his only passion; and I am apt to think, that he experiences that jealousy of which

[p] Cicer. Epist. ad Famil. lib. 1. epist. 9. t. vii. [q] Senec. epist. 6. Laërt. lib. 3. c. 35. [r] Athen. lib. 11. p. 505. [s] Id. ibid. [t] Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3. p. 114. Plut. t. ii. p. 10 et 551. Athen. lib. 2. p. 59.

he is himself so frequently the object.[a] Difficult and reserved towards those who press forward in the same tract, open and communicative to those whom he himself conducts, he has lived with the other disciples of Socrates on terms of restraint or enmity,[x] but with his own in the utmost familiarity and confidence, unremittingly attentive to their progress as well as to their deficiencies, without weakness and without austerity directing their propensities towards worthy objects,[y] and correcting them by his example rather than by his precepts.[z] On their side, his disciples carry their respect even to idolatry, and their admiration to fanaticism. Nay, you will see some of them affect high and round shoulders, that they may have some resemblance to their master:[a] like the courtiers in Ethiopia, who, when the sovereign has some defect in his person, scruple not to mutilate themselves to have the honour of similitude.[b] Such are the leading features of his life and character. You will hereafter be better able to judge of his doctrine, his eloquence, and his daring and eccentric flights.

Apollodorus, as he concluded, perceived that I was looking with surprise at a tolerably handsome woman, who had introduced herself among the disciples of Plato. Her name is Lasthenia, said he; she is a courtezan of Mantinea in Arcadia;[c] the love

[a] Athen. lib. 11. p. 506. [x] Laërt. lib. 3. c. 34, &c. [y] Plut. [z] Sanit. Tuend. t. ii. p. 135. [a] Plut. de Adulat. t. ii. p. 71. d. de Aud. Poët. t. ii. p. 26. et de Adulat. p. 53. [b] Diod. . lib. 3. p. 146. [c] Laërt. in Plut. lib. 3. § 46; in Speusipp. . 4. § 2.

of philosophy first brought her to this place: but she is suspected of being retained here by a passion for Speusippus, Plato's nephew, who is sitting by her.[d] He pointed out to my notice, at the same time, a young Arcadian girl, named Axiothea, who, after reading one of the dialogues of Plato, had quitted every thing, even to her female dress, to come and attend the lectures of the philosopher.[e] He named other women to me, who had done the same by means of a similar disguise.[f]

And who is that meagre, lank young man, said I, near Plato, who lisps, and whose little eyes are full of fire?[g]—That, replied he, is Aristotle of Stagira, the son of Nicomachus the physician, and the friend of Amyntas king of Macedon.[h] Nicomachus left a considerable fortune to his son,[i] who came to settle among us about five years ago, being then about seventeen or eighteen.[k] I know no person with so powerful an understanding, or more assiduous in his application. Plato distinguishes him from his other disciples, and finds nothing to censure in him but too much attention to dress.[l]

He whom you see near Aristotle, continued Apollodorus, is Xenocrates of Chalcedon, a heavy genius, and destitute of every thing pleasing in his manner. Plato frequently exhorts him to sacrifice to the

[d] Athen. lib. 7. p. 279. lib. 12. p. 546. [e] Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. c. 46. Themist. orat. 23. p. 295. [f] Menag. in Laërt. p. 155. [g] Laërt. in Arist. lib. 5. § 1. Plut. de Aud. Poët. t. ii. p. 26. [h] Suid. in Νικόμ. [i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 9. [k] Apoll. ap. Laërt. lib. 5. c. 9. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 728. [l] Laërt. lib. 5. c. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. c. 19.

Graces. Of him and Aristotle he says, that the one has need of the rein, and the other of the spur.[m] Plato was one day informed that Xenocrates had spoken ill of him. I do not believe it, said he. The person insisted on the truth of what he had affirmed, but he would not be convinced; proofs were offered: "No," replied he, "it is impossible that I should not be beloved by one whom I love so affectionately."[n]

What is the name, said I, of that other young man, who appears to be of so delicate a constitution, and who now and then shrugs up his shoulders?[o]— That is Demosthenes, said Apollodorus. He is of a good family; his father, whom he lost when seven years old, employed a considerable number of slaves in the manufacturing of swords and furniture of different kinds.[p] He has just gained a law-suit against his guardians, who attempted to defraud him of part of his property, and pleaded his own cause, though he is scarcely seventeen.[q] His companions, jealous, no doubt, of his success, give him the nickname of serpent,[r] and lavish other disgraceful epithets on him, which he seems to draw upon himself by the harshness that he manifests towards others.[s] He intends to devote himself to the bar, and with this view frequents the school of Isæus, rather than that of socrates, the eloquence of the former appearing to

[m] Laërt. in Xenocr. lib. 4. § 6. [n] Val. Max. lib. 4. in tern. c. 1. [o] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 844. [p] Demosth. Aphob. 1. p. 896. [q] Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 895; et in etor. p. 921. [r] Suid. in Δημ. Æschin. in Tim. p. 280, et Fals. Leg. p. 410. [s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.

him more nervous than that of the latter. Nature has given him a feeble voice, a difficult respiration, and a disagreeable mode of utterance;[t] but she has endowed him with one of those determined minds which are only stimulated by obstacles. His object in frequenting this place is at once to acquire the principles of philosophy, and to improve himself in eloquence.[u]

The three pupils you see near Demosthenes are attracted by the same motive. The one is named Æschines; that young man who appears so florid and healthy.[x] Born in an obscure condition, he exercised, in his childhood, not very honourable functions;[y] and, possessing a fine and sonorous voice, was next brought upon the stage, where he appeared however only in subordinate characters.[z] His mind is not destitute of graces, and he cultivates poetry with some success.[a] The name of the second is Hyperides,[b] and that of the third Lycurgus. The latter is one of the most ancient families of the republic.[c]

All those whom Apollodorus had named to me have since distinguished themselves; some by their eloquence, others by their conduct, and almost all of them by a determined hatred of servitude. I saw many foreigners likewise, who listened with the deepest attention to the maxims of Plato concerning

[t] Id. ibid. p. 844. [u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 20. t. i. p. 149. Id. in Brut. c. 31. t. i. p. 363. Id. Orat. c. 4. p. 423. [x] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 840. [y] Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 323, &c. Id. de Coronâ. p. 515 et 516. [z] Vit. Æschin. p. 41. Plut. ibid. [a] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 281. [b] Plut. ibid. p. 848. [c] Id. ibid. p. 841.

justice and liberty; but who, after displaying some virtues, on their return, either attempted to enslave, or actually succeeded in imposing chains upon their country:[d] tyrants the more dangerous, as they were educated in the detestation of tyranny.

Sometimes Plato would read his works to his disciples;[e] at others he proposed a question to them, allowing them time to meditate, and accustomed them to define with accuracy the ideas they annexed to words.[f] He usually gave his lessons in the walks of the Academy;[g] for he held walking to be more conducive to health than the violent exercises of the gymnasium.[h] His former scholars, his friends, nay, even his enemies, often came to hear him, and others were attracted by the natural beauties of the place.

I saw a man arrive there, of about five and forty years of age,[i] without shoes[k] or tunic, with a long beard, a staff in his hand, a wallet over his shoulders, and a cloak,[l] under which he held a live cock stripped of its feathers. This he threw into the middle of the assembly, saying, "Behold the man of Plato!"[m] and instantly disappeared. Plato smiled.[n] His disciples appeared to be much offended. Apollodorus said to me, Plato had defined man to be a two-footed animal without feathers, and Diogenes has taken this method to ridicule the definition as inaccurate.—I took this

[d] Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 508. [e] Laërt. lib. 3. § 37. [f] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 59. [g] Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. 7. Ælian. lib. 3. c. 19. [h] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 227. [i] Laërt. lib. 6. § 76 et 79. [k] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 6. p. 89. [l] Laërt. ibid. § 22 et 23. [m] Id. ibid. § 40. [n] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 59.

stranger, said I, for one of those importunate beggars to be met with in every opulent and polished nation. —He does indeed beg sometimes, answered my companion, but not always from want. Observing my surprise increase, Let us sit down, said he, under this plane-tree; I will give you his history in a few words, and make you acquainted with some celebrated Athenians whom I see in the adjoining walks. We sat down facing a tower, named after Timon the misanthropist,[o] and a rising ground, covered with verdure and houses, called Colonos.[p]

About the time that Plato opened his school at the Academy, resumed Apollodorus, Antisthenes, another disciple of Socrates, established one, likewise, on an eminence situate on the opposite side of the city.[q] This philosopher laboured, during his youth, to make an external display of the most rigid virtue; and Socrates, penetrating his intentions, one day said to him: Antisthenes, I see your vanity through the rents in your garment.[r] His master had taught him that happiness consists in virtue: and he made virtue consist in a contempt of riches and enjoyments;[s] and, to enforce his maxims, appeared in public with a staff, and wallet over his shoulders, like one of those unhappy mendicants who expose their wretchedness to passengers.[t] The singularity of this sight procured him disciples, who remained attached to him for some time by his eloquence.[u] But the austerities

[o] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 30. [p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. c. 1. t. ii. p. 197. [q] Laërt. in Antisth. lib. 6. § 13. [r] Id. ibid. § 8. [s] Id. ibid. § 3. [t] Laërt. in Antisth. lib. 6. § 13. [u] Id. ibid. § 14.

he prescribed made them gradually disappear, and, disgusted at this desertion, he shut up his school.[x]

Diogenes now made his appearance in this city. He had been banished from Synope, his native country, with his father, accused of coining.[y] After a long resistance,[z] Antisthenes imparted to him his principles, and Diogenes presently gave them a greater extent. Antisthenes sought to correct the passions, Diogenes to destroy them. The wise man, to become happy, should, according to him, render himself independent of fortune, of mankind, and of himself: of fortune, by braving alike her favours and caprices; of men, by divesting himself of prejudices; and despising customs and even laws, when not conformable to his understanding; of himself, by labouring to fortify his body against the rigour of the seasons, and his mind against the allurements of pleasure. He sometimes says: "I am poor, a vagabond, without country, without asylum, and compelled to live as I can from one day to another; but I oppose courage to fortune, nature to the laws, and reason to the passions."[a] From these principles, which in their respective consequences may lead men to the summit of perfection, or plunge them into every species of disorder,* results a contempt for riches, honours, glory, the distinction of ranks, the decorum of society, the

[x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. c. 16. [y] Laërt. in Diog. lib. 6. § 20. [z] Id. ibid. § 21. Ælian. ibid. [a] Laërt. lib. 6. c. 38. Ælian. lib. 3. c. 29. * Antisthenes and Diogenes were the founders of the Cynic school, and this school gave rise to that of the Stoics. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 17. t. i. p. 295.

arts and sciences, and all the comforts and embellishments of life.[b] The man created in the imagination of Diogenes, and whom he sometimes goes in search of with a lantern;[c] that being, foreign to every surrounding object, and inaccessible to every thing that gratifies the senses, who styles himself a citizen of the world, though he claims not that relation to his native land; that man would be as wretched as unprofitable in polished societies, and never did exist even prior to their origin. Diogenes imagines he can discover some faint resemblance of him among the Spartans: "I have found men no where," said he; "but I have seen children at Lacedæmon."[d]

To represent in his own person the man of his idea, he has undergone the rudest trials, and emancipated himself from every species of constraint. You will see him struggling against hunger, appeasing it with the grossest aliments, refusing to gratify it at entertainments where the table is covered with abundance; stretching out his hands for alms to passengers;[e] at night shutting himself up in a tub; exposing his body to the injuries of the weather, under the portico of a temple;[f] rolling himself in summer on the burning sand, and in winter walking with naked feet, amid the snow;[g] satisfying all the wants of nature in public, and in places frequented by the dregs of the people;[h] courageously braving and encouraging ridi-

[b] Laërt. lib. 6. § 28, 71, 72, et 73. [c] Id. ibid. § 41. [d] Id. ibid. § 27. [e] Id. ibid. § 67. [f] Id. ibid. § 22 et 23. [g] Id. ibid. § 23 et 34. [h] Id. ibid. § 22 et 26. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 19.

cule, insults, and injustice; acting in opposition to established customs, even in things the most indifferent; and daily exhibiting scenes which, whilst they excite the contempt of sensible men, reveal but too plainly to their eyes the secret motives that influenced his conduct. I one day saw him, during a severe frost, embracing, half naked, a brazen statue. A Lacedæmonian asked him if he suffered pain? No, said the philosopher. What merit is there then in what you do? replied the Lacedæmonian.[l]

Diogenes possesses depth of understanding, firmness of mind, and liveliness of character. He delivers his doctrines with such perspicuity, and explains them with so much energy, that strangers have been seen to listen to him, and instantly abandon all to follow him.[k] Believing himself destined to reform mankind, he treats them without the smallest deference. His system leads him to inveigh against vices and abuses, and his character unrelentingly to pursue those who are guilty of them. He never ceases to attack them with the weapons of satire, and an irony a thousand times more formidable. The freedom that reigns in his discourses renders him agreeable to the people.[l] He is admitted into good company, which he serves to enliven by ready repartees,[m] sometimes happily hit off, and at all times frequent, for he hesitates at nothing. Young people court his company to make trials of pleasantry, and avenge themselves of his superiority by insults,[n] which he

[l] Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 223. [k] Laërt. lib. 6. § 75. [l] Id. ibid. § 43. [m] Id. ibid. § 74. [n] Id. ibid. § 33 et 41.

supports with the most mortifying tranquillity. I have often seen him reproach them with expressions and actions that put modesty to the blush,[o] which inclines me to believe that he has never himself been guilty of those excesses his enemies impute to him.[p] His indecency lies rather in the manner than in any thing really offensive to good morals.[q] Eminent talents, great virtues, and prodigious efforts, will never make more of him than a singular man; and I shall always subscribe to the judgment of Plato, who said of him: "He is Socrates in a phrensy."[r]

At this moment we saw a man pass, who was walking slowly at a small distance from us. He appeared to be about forty, and had a melancholy and pensive air, with his hand in his mantle.[s] Though his external appearance was extremely plain, Apollodorus flew to accost him with a respect mingled with admiration and sensibility, and returning to sit down by me: That, said he, is Phocion, a name that should for ever awaken in your mind the idea of integrity itself.[t] His birth is obscure,[u] but his soul is truly sublime. He early frequented the Academy,[x] where he imbibed those sublime principles which have since guided his conduct; principles engraven on his heart, and as immutable as that truth and justice from which they are derived.

[o] Laërt. lib. 6. § 46, 47, 65, 66, &c. [p] Plut. de Stoic. p. 1044. Laërt. ibid. § 46 et 69. [q] Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 881. [r] Ælian. lib. 14. c. 33. [s] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743. [t] Nep. in Phoc. c. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. c. 47. lib. 4. c. 16. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1131. [u] Ælian. lib. 12. c. 43. [x] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.

On leaving the Academy, he served under Chabrias, whose impetuosity he moderated, and who was in a great measure indebted to him for his victory at Naxos.[y] He has also found other opportunities to prove he possesses great military talents. In peace he cultivates a little farm,[z] that would scarcely supply the wants of a man the most moderate in his desires, but which furnishes Phocion with a superfluity, with which he alleviates the wants of others.[a] He lives there with a spouse worthy of his love, because she merits his esteem; he lives there contented with his lot, neither ashamed nor vain of his poverty, courting no public employments,[b] but accepting them to discharge their duties.

You will never see him either laugh or weep,[c] though he is equally capable of enjoying his own happiness and feeling another's pain. His strength of mind is superior to joy and grief. Be not dismayed at the dark cloud that seems to hang over his eyes. Phocion is affable, humane, and indulgent to our foibles. He is rigid and severe only to those who corrupt the public manners by their examples, or ruin the state by their evil counsels.[d]

I am happy that chance has, in so short an interval, brought within your view Diogenes and Phocion. By comparing them, you will find that the former never makes a sacrifice to philosophy without pushing it too far, and proclaiming it to the public; whilst

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744. [z] Nep. in Phoc. c. 1. [a] Suid. in Φωκ. [b] Plut. ibid. 745. [c] Id. ibid. p. 743. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187. [d] Plut. in Phoc. p. 743 et 746.

the latter neither studies to display nor to conceal his virtues. I shall go farther, and assert that, at the first glance, you may decide which of the two men is the genuine philosopher. Phocion's cloak is as coarse as that of Diogenes; but the cloak of Diogenes is ragged, and that of Phocion is not.

After Phocion came two Athenians, one of whom was remarkable for his majestic stature and a commanding countenance.[e] That man, said Apollodorus to me, is the son of a shoemaker,[f] and son-in-law of Cotys, king of Thrace;[g] his name is Iphicrates. The other is the son of Conon, who was one of the greatest men of the age, and is named Timotheus.

Both of them, placed at the head of our armies, have, for a long series of years, maintained the glory of the republic;[h] both have shewn themselves capable of uniting information with talents, reflection with experience, and stratagem with bravery.[i] Iphicrates more especially distinguished himself by the strict discipline he introduced among our troops, by the prudence that directed his enterprises, and a scrupulous diffidence which has always kept him on his guard against the enemy.[k] He was much indebted to his reputation; and therefore, when marching against the barbarians, he said: "I am only afraid of one thing; that they have never heard of Iphicrates."[l]

Timotheus is more active,[m] more patient, less

[e] Nep. in Iphicr. c. 3. [f] Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 186. [g] Nep. in Iphicr. c. 3. [h] Id. in Timoth. c. 4. [i] Polyæn. Stratag. l. 3. c. 9 et 10. Xen. Hist. Græc. p. 589. [k] Nep. in Iphicr. c. 1. Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187. [l] Plut. ibid. [m] Nep. in Timoth. c. 1.

skilful perhaps in forming projects, but endowed with more constancy and firmness when they are to be carried into execution. His enemies, to avoid acknowledging his merit, accused him of being lucky, and had him represented sleeping under a tent, with Fortune hovering over his head, and collecting around him cities taken in a net. Timotheus was shown the picture, and pleasantly observed: "What should I not do then were I awake?"[n]

Iphicrates has made some useful changes in the arms of the infantry.[o] Timotheus has often enriched the exhausted treasury with spoils taken from the enemy. It is true that he has also enriched himself.[p] The former has restored sovereigns to their thrones;[q] the latter has compelled the Lacedæmonians to yield to us the empire of the sea.[r] Both are endowed with the powers of oratory. The eloquence of Iphicrates is pompous and ostentatious;[s] that of Timotheus, more simple and persuasive.[t] We have erected statues to them,[u] and we shall one day perhaps send them into banishment.

[n] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 454. Id. Apopht. t. ii. p. 187. Ælian. lib. 13. c. 43. [o] Nep. in Iphcr. c. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 360. [p] Nep. in Timoth. c. 1. [q] Id. in Iphicr. c. 3. [r] Id. in Timoth. c. 2. [s] Plut. de Rep. Ger. t. ii. p. 813. [t] Ælian. lib. 3. c. 16. [u] Nep. in Timoth. c. 2. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 24.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Lycæum.—Gymnasia.—Isocrates.—Palæstræ.—Funerals of the Athenians.

ANOTHER day, at the instant that Apollodorus had called on me to propose a walk to the Lycæum, I ran to him, exclaiming: Do you know him?---Whom?---Isocrates. I have just been reading one of his orations; I am enchanted with it. Is he still alive? Where is he? What does he do?---He is in Athens, answered Apollodorus. He professes eloquence. He is a celebrated man. I am acquainted with him.---I must see him to-day, this morning, this very instant.---We will call on him as we return from the Lycæum.

We passed by the quarter of the marshes, and, going out of the town by the gate of Ægeus, followed a path along the Ilissus, which, according to the difference of seasons, is an impetuous torrent, or peaceful rivulet, and rushes along with violence, or glides gently, at the foot of an eminence that terminates Mount Hymettus. Its banks are pleasing, and its waters generally pure and limpid.[x] In the environs we saw an altar dedicated to the Muses;[y] the place

[x] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 229. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 121.
[y] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 45. Dionys. Perieg. v. 425.

vhence Boreas is said to have carried off the beau-
iful Orithyia, daughter of King Erechtheus;[a] the
emple of Ceres where the lesser mysteries are cele-
rated;[a] and that of Diana, where a great number of
oats are annually sacrificed in honour of the god-
ess. Before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians
ad vowed to immolate as many of these animals as
ıey should find Persians dead on the field. After
ıe victory, perceiving that the performance of so
ıconsiderate a vow would soon exhaust the flocks
f Attica, they limited the number of victims to five
undred,[b] with which the goddess was pleased to be
ontented.

Whilst I was listening to these details, we dis-
overed a number of peasants running on the hill,
nd striking on brazen vessels, to attract a swarm of
ees which had just left a hive.[c]

These insects are extremely partial to Mount
Iymettus, which they have filled with their colonies,
nd which is covered almost every where with wild
ıyme[d] and other odoriferous plants. But it is chiefly
om the excellent thyme it produces,[e] that they ex-
act those precious sweets with which they compose
honey in high estimation throughout Greece.[f]

[a] Plat. ibid. Pausan. ibid. [a] Steph. in Ἄγρα. [b] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 301. Plut. de Herodot. Malign. t. ii. 862. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 843. [d] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 678. Plin. lib. 19. c. 8. t. ii. p. 181. Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 28. Alex. ap. eund. lib. 14. 652. [f] Plin. lib. 11. c. 13. t. i. p. 596. Id. lib. 21. cap. 10. ii. p. 243. Varro de Re Rustic. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 374. Colum. Re Rustic. lib. 9. c. 4.

It is of a white colour inclining to yellow; it grows black when long kept, and always retains its fluidity.[g] The Athenians gather a vast quantity every year; and we may judge of the value they set upon it from the use made of it by the Greeks, who employ honey in their pastry,[h] as well as in their ragouts.[i] It is said even to prolong life, and to be particularly salutary for aged persons.[k] Nay, I have seen some disciples of Pythagoras preserve their health, though they took no other nourishment than a little honey.[l]

Having repassed the Ilissus, we came into a road where the Athenians exercise themselves in riding, and which conducted us to the Lycæum.[m]

The Athenians have three gymnasia appropriated to the education of youth;[n] that of the Lycæum, that of the Cynosarges,[o] situate on an eminence so called, and that of the Academy. All three have been built at the expence of the government, without the walls of the city. The second was formerly set apart for illegitimate children.[p]

They are spacious edifices, surrounded by gardens and a sacred grove. The first entrance is by a square court, two stadia in circumference,[q] which is encompassed with porticoes and buildings. On three of its

[g] Geopon. lib. 15. c. 7. [h] Athen. lib. 3. c. 25. p. 109. Id. lib. 14. p. 646. [i] Hesych. in Ὑποτρ. [k] Geopon. ibid. [l] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 46. lib. 10, &c. [m] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 476. [n] Ulpian. in Timocr. p. 820. [o] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 791. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 24. Laërt. lib. 6. § 13. [q] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 760. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 112. [q] Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 11.

sides are large halls, provided with seats, in which the philosophers, rhetoricians, and sophists, assemble their disciples.[r] On the fourth are rooms for bathing, and other practices of the gymnasium. The portico facing the south is double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from penetrating into the internal part.

From this court you pass into an enclosure likewise square, shaded in the middle by some plane-trees. A range of porticoes extends round three of the sides. That which fronts the north has a double row of columns, to shelter those who walk there in summer from the sun. The opposite portico is called Xystus.[s] In the middle of this portico, and through its whole length, is a sort of hollow way, about twelve feet wide, and nearly two deep, where, sheltered from the weather, and separated from the spectators, ranged along the sides, the young scholars exercise themselves in wrestling. Beyond the Xystus is a stadium for foot races.[t]

A magistrate, named the gymnasiarch, presides at the different gymnasia of Athens. His office is annual, and conferred on him by the general assembly of the state.[u] It is his duty to furnish the oil made use of by the athletæ to give suppleness to their limbs.[x] He has under him, in each gymnasium, several officers, such as the gymnastes, the paido-

[r] Plat. Euthyp. tom. i. p. 2. Isocrat. Panath. tom. ii. p. 191. Demet. de Inter. § 111. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. tom. i. p. 329. [s] Xen. Œconom. lib. 5. p. 850. [t] Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 11. [u] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 544. [x] Ulpian. in Leptin. Orat. p. 575.

tribes, and others; some of whom maintain order among the youth, and others teach them different exercises. At the head of these are ten sophronists, nominated by the ten tribes to whom the superintendence of the morals of the youth is more especially committed,[y] and all of whom must be approved by the Areopagus.[z]

As it is of the greatest importance that confidence and security should prevail in the gymnasium, as well as in all numerous assemblies, thefts committed there are punished with death, when they exceed the value of ten drachmas.[a]

The gymnasia being deemed the asylum of innocence and modesty, Solon had prohibited the people from entering them, at the time when the scholars, celebrating a festival in honour of Mercury,[b] were less under the eye of their preceptors; but this regulation has fallen into disuse.[c]

The exercises practised there are ordained by the laws, subject to certain regulations, and animated by the commendations of the masters, and still more by the emulation that subsists among the scholars. All Greece considers them as the most essential part of education, as they render men active, robust, and capable of supporting military labours, as well as the leisure hours of peace.[d] Considered relatively to health, physicians prescribe them with success.[e] Of

[y] Stob. Serm. 5. p. 77. [z] Axioch. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 367. [a] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 791. [b] Æschin. in Tim. p. 262. [c] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 204 et 206. [d] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 901. [e] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 2. t. i. c. 39, &c. lib. 3. c. 25.

their great utility in the military art, it is impossible to give a higher idea, than by citing the example of the Lacedæmonians. To these exercises were they indebted for those victories which once made them so formidable to other nations; and, in later times, in order to conquer, it was first necessary to equal them in the gymnastic discipline.[f]

But if the advantages resulting from this institution be eminent, its abuses are not less dangerous. Medicine and philosophy both concur in condemning these exercises, when they exhaust the body, or give more ferocity than courage to the mind.[g]

The gymnasium of the Lycæum has been successively enlarged and embellished.[h] The walls are enriched with paintings.[i] Apollo is the tutelary deity of the place. His statue is at the entrance;[k] and the gardens, ornamented with beautiful alleys, were restored in the last years of my residence in Greece.[l] Those who walk there are invited to rest themselves, by seats placed under the trees.[m]

After having been present at the exercises of the young men, and passing a few minutes in the public halls, where important and frivolous questions were

[f] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 452. Plut. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 639. [g] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 3. t. i. c. 28. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410. Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 452. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 151. [h] Theopomp. et Philoch. ap. Suid in Δύκ. Harpocr. in Δύκ. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 75. [i] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 425. [k] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 887. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 44. [l] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 841. [m] Lucian. ibid. p. 895.

alternately discussed, we took the road leading from the Lycæum to the Academy, along the walls of the city.[n] We had proceeded but a little way before we met with a venerable old man, whom Apollodorus seemed particularly glad to see. After the first compliments, he inquired whither he was going. The old man answered, in a shrill tone of voice: I am going to dine at Plato's, with Ephorus and Theopompus, who are waiting for me at the gate of Dipylon.—That is exactly in our road, replied Apollodorus, we shall have the pleasure of your company. But, tell me, do you still continue then to love Plato?[o]—As much as I flatter myself I am beloved by him. Our intimacy, which originated in our childhood, has never suffered the smallest diminution. He has not forgotten it in one of his dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates speaking of me in most honourable terms.[p]—That praise was due to you. Every one remembers, that at the death of Socrates, whilst his disciples took to flight in consternation, you ventured to appear in mourning in the streets of Athens.[q] And but a few years before you had given another example of firmness. When Theramenes, proscribed by the thirty tyrants, in full senate, took refuge by the altar, you rose up in his defence; and was not he himself obliged to entreat you to spare him the affliction of seeing you perish with him?[r] The old man

[n] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 203.
[o] Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 8.
[p] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 278.
[q] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. tom. ii. p. 838.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 836.

seemed delighted with this eulogium. I was impatient to learn his name, but Apollodorus took a pleasure in concealing it from me.

Son of Theodorus, said he to him, are not you of the same age with Plato?—I am six or seven years older;[s] he must only be in his sixty-eighth year.—You appear to be in good health.—Excellent; I am as well in body and mind as it is possible to be.[t]—They say you are very rich?[u]—I have acquired by my application enough to satisfy the desires of a wise man.[x] My father had a manufactory of musical instruments.[y]—He was ruined in the Peloponnesian war; and, leaving me no inheritance but an excellent education, I was under the necessity of living by my literary acquirements, and by turning to account the lessons I had received from Gorgias, Prodicus, and the ablest orators of Greece. I drew up pleadings for such as were not able to defend their own causes.[z] A discourse which I addressed to Nicocles, king of Cyprus, procured me a present from him of twenty talents.[*a] I opened a course of public lectures on oratory; and the number of my disciples daily increasing, I have reaped the fruit of labours which have employed every moment of my life.—Admit, however, that, notwithstanding the severity of your manners, you have found time to dedicate some of

[s] Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. c. 4. Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 836. [t] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184. [u] Dionys. Halic. de Isocr. t. v. p. 537. [x] Isocr. ibid. [y] Plut. ibid. Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 534. [z] Cicer. in Brut. t. i. p. 346. [*a] 108,000 livres (4,500*l.*) [a] Plut. ibid. p. 838.

these moments to pleasure. You formerly kept the handsome Metanira, and in a more advanced age took to your house a not less agreeable courtezan.[b] The world then said of you, that you knew how to reconcile the maxims of philosophy with the refinements of voluptuousness, and talked of that sumptuous bed which you procured to be made, and of those pillows which exhaled so delicious an odour.[c] The old man, smiling, did not deny these facts.

Apollodorus continued: You have an amiable family, good health, an easy fortune, and numberless disciples; your name you have rendered illustrious, and your virtues rank you among our most respectable citizens;[d] with so many advantages you must be the happiest man in Athens.—Alas! answered the old man, I am perhaps the most wretched of mortals. All my plan of happiness consisted in obtaining authority and influence in the state; but as, on the one hand, it is impossible to acquire weight in a democracy without taking part in public affairs, and Nature, on the other, has given me but a feeble voice, and excessive timidity,[e] it has so happened, that, with a capacity every way equal to the discernment of the true interests of the state, but incapable of defending them in the general assembly, I have been always violently tormented with the ambition and impossibility of being useful, or, if you will, of

[b] Lys. Hermip. et Strat. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 592. [c] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. tom. ii. p. 839. [d] Isocr. Panath. tom. ii. p. 184. [e] Id. Epist. ad Phil. t. i. p. 270. Id. Epist. ad Mytil. t. i. p. 487. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 3. t. i. p. 194.

obtaining influence.[f] The Athenians receive lessons of eloquence from me gratuitously; foreigners, for one thousand drachmas.[g] I would give a million to the man who could procure me a proper portion of courage with a sonorous voice.—But you have repaired the injuries of Nature: by your writings you instruct that public you cannot reach with your oratory, and who are unable to refuse you their esteem.—And what signifies to me the esteem of others, if I cannot obtain my own? I sometimes carry the mean idea I entertain of my own abilities even to contempt.[h] What advantage have I derived from them? Have I ever been able to obtain public employments, the offices of magistracy, or the applause and honours which I daily see bestowed on those base orators who betray the state?[i]—Though my panegyric on Athens made those rhetoricians blush who had before treated the same subject, and discouraged others from again attempting it,[k] I have always spoken of my successes with modesty, or rather with humility.[l] My intentions are pure; I have never, either by writings or accusations, done injury to any man; yet I have enemies.[m]—What then! must not you expect to pay the tribute of your merit by some disquietudes? Your enemies are more to be pitied than yourself. An unwelcome voice perpetually reminds them that kings, generals, statesmen, histo-

[f] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 185. [g] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. tom. ii. p. 838. [h] Isocr. Panath. tom. ii. p. 184. [i] Id. ibid. p. 189. [k] Id. de Antid. t. ii. p. 404. [l] Id. Panath. t. ii. p. 192. [m] Id. de Antid. p. 386, 390, &c.

rians, and authors in every branch of literature, are numbered among your disciples;[n] that whole colonies of learned and ingenious men from time to time issue from your school, who spread your doctrines far and wide; that you govern Greece by your pupils;[o] and, to make use of your own expression, that you are the stone that whets the instrument.—True; but it is not the stone that cuts.[p]

But envy, added Apollodorus, cannot at least deny that you have promoted and improved the art of oratory.[q]—Yet this is the merit of which they likewise wish to rob me. Every day a set of audacious sophists, and ungrateful teachers, after inculcating on their scholars precepts and examples borrowed from my writings, renew their attacks on my reputation with redoubled ardour. They employ themselves on subjects that I have treated, and, assembling around them their partisans, compare their discourses with mine, which they have taken the precaution to metamorphose, and are mean enough to disfigure in the recital. Such cruel ingratitude wounds me to the quick.[r] But I perceive Ephorus and Theopompus. I am going to accompany them to Plato's, and must take my leave of you.

The instant he was gone, turning hastily round to Apollodorus, I asked him, Who then is this old

[n] Id. ibid. p. 388. [o] Cicer. Orat. c. 13. t. i. p. 429. Dionys. Halicar. de Isocr. t. v. p. 536. [p] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[q] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 214. Id. Orat. c. 13. p. 429. c. 52. p. 464. Naucrat. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 44. p. 321.
[r] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 190. Id. epist. ad Philip. t. i. p. 277.

man, at once so modest and so vain; so wretched, though possessing so many of the essentials of happiness? This is Isocrates, said he, whom we were to visit on our return. By my questions I led him on to trace out to you the leading features of his life and character. You have seen that he twice gave proofs of courage in his youth. This effort, apparently, exhausted the vigour of his mind; for he has passed the remainder of his days in apprehension and chagrin. The very sight of the rostrum, which he has prudently renounced, gives him such uneasiness, that he no longer attends at the general assemblies.[s] He imagines himself surrounded by enemies and envious persons, because a cabal of authors whom he despises judge less favourably of his writings than himself. It is his fate to be perpetually in the pursuit of fame, and never to know repose.[t]

Unfortunately for him, his works, abounding in other respects with great beauties, furnish powerful weapons for criticism. His style is pure and fluent, full of softness and harmony, sometimes pompous and magnificent, but occasionally languid, diffuse, and overcharged with ornaments, by which it is disfigured.[u]

His eloquence is not calculated for the discussions of popular assemblies, nor for the bar;[x] its object is to soothe the ear, rather than to affect the heart. It

[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838. [t] Isocr. Panath. t. i. p. 184 et 187. [u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 7. t. i. p. 286. Dionys. Halic. de Isocr. t. v. p. 537. [x] Dionys. Halic. ibid. t. v. p. 539. Cicer. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 429.

is painful to see so estimable an author often sink into the mere sonorous writer, reducing his art to the single merit of eloquence;[y] laboriously subjecting his thoughts to words;[z] avoiding the concourse of vowels with a puerile affectation;[a] attentive only to the rounding of his periods, and, as his only resource to produce symmetry in their component members, driven to fill them up with redundant words and misplaced figures.[b] As he does not sufficiently diversify his style, his reader at last becomes cold and disgusted. He is a painter who gives the same drapery and the same attitudes to all his figures.[c]

His discourses generally turn on the most important topics of morals and politics.[d] He neither persuades nor carries his reader along with him; for he does not write with warmth, and seems more attentive to his art than the truths he is announcing.[e] Hence possibly it happens that sovereigns, of whom he has in some sort made himself the legislator,[f] have replied to his counsels by rewards. He has composed, on the duty of kings, a little work, which he has procured to be circulated through every court. It was sent to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse,[g] who

[y] Arist. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 35. t. i. p. 313. [z] Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 558. [a] Quintil. lib. 9. c. 4. p. 593. Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 538. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. § 68. [b] Cicer. Orat. c. 12. t. i. p. 429. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Dionys. Halic. de Isocr. t. v. p. 540. Hermog. de Form. lib. 2. p. 388. [c] Philon. ap. Dionys. Halic. de Isocr. t. v. p. 559. [d] Dionys. Halic. ibid. p. 535. [e] Hermog. de Formis, lib. 1. p. 294. et lib. 2. p. 388. [f] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 55. Aphton. Progymn. p. 4. [g] Isocr. Orat. ad Phil. t. i. p. 269. Socratic. Epist. p. 66.

admired the author, and easily pardoned him lessons from which he felt no remorse.

Isocrates has grown old in composing; polishing and repolishing, and recomposing, a very inconsiderable number of works. His panegyric of Athens is said to have cost him ten years' application.[h] Whilst employed in this laborious structure, he did not perceive that he was erecting it on foundations which must inevitably occasion its ruin. He lays it down as a principle, that it is the nature of eloquence to magnify little things, and to diminish great ones; and afterwards endeavours to prove, that the Athenians have rendered more service to Greece than the Lacedæmonians.[i]

Notwithstanding these faults, to which his enemies add many others, his writings present us with so many happy turns, and salutary maxims, that they will always serve as models for those who are qualified to study them. He is an able rhetorician, destined to form excellent writers; and an enlightened teacher, attentive to the improvement of his disciples, and to the character of their genius. Ephorus of Cumæ, and Theopompus of Chios, who have just taken him from us, have had a happy experience of this. After inspiring the first with energy, and repressing the impetuosity of the latter,[k] he has recommended them both to write history;[l] and their first essays do

[h] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 4. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1455. [i] Longin. de Subl. § 38. [k] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 9. t. i. p. 288. Idem. de Clar. Orat. c. 56. p. 383. Quintil. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 105. Suid. in Ἔφορ. [l] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 205.

honour to the sagacity of the master, and the abilities of the pupils.

Whilst Apollodorus was informing me of these particulars, we crossed the forum. He then conducted me by the street of the Hermæ, and brought me into the palæstra of Taureas, facing the royal portico.[m] *

As Athens possesses different gymnasia, it contains likewise several palæstræ. In the former of these schools, youth pursue their exercises; the latter are set apart for athletæ by profession. We saw a number of those who had carried off the prizes in the games instituted in the different cities of Greece, and others who were aspiring to the same honours. Many Athenians, and even old men,[n] assiduously resort thither, to continue their exercises, or be spectators of the combats.

The palæstræ are nearly of the same form with the gymnasia. We visited the apartments appropriated to all the species of baths; those where the wrestlers leave their clothes, where they rub their bodies with oil to render their limbs supple, and where they roll themselves in the sand in order to give their antagonists a hold.[o]

Wrestling, leaping, tennis, and all the exercises of the Lycæum, were here repeated before us with greater varieties, and with more strength and skill on the part of the performers.

[m] Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 153.
[n] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.
* See plan of the palæstra.
[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. Hist. p. 99.

Among the different groups before us, we distinguished men of the most perfect beauty, and worthy of serving as models for artists; some with vigorous and boldly marked outlines, as Hercules is represented; and others of a more slim and elegant shape, as Achilles is described. The former, devoting themselves to wrestling and boxing, had no object but to increase their bodily strength;[p] the latter, educated to less violent exercises, such as running, leaping, &c. confined themselves to acquirements of agility.

Their regimen is suited to the different exercises for which they are designed. Some of them abstain from women[q] and wine; others lead a very abstemious life: but those who make laborious exertions stand in need of a great quantity of substantial food, such as roasted beef and pork, to restore their strength.[r] If they require only two minæ a day, with bread in proportion, they give a very favourable idea of their temperance.[s] But several are mentioned who have made a terrible consumption of provisions. Theagenes of Thasos, for instance, is said to have eaten a whole ox in a day.[t] The same exploit is attributed to Milo of Crotona, whose usual quantity of food for a day was twenty minæ of meat, as many of

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410. [q] Id. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 840. [r] Hipp. Epid. lib. 5. t. i. p. 788. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 411. Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1028. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. i. p. 221. [s] Galen de Dignot. Puls. lib. 2. c. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 221, &c. [t] Poseidip. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 412.

bread,* and three congii of wine.†[a] It is said likewise, that Astydamus of Miletus, when at the table of Ariobarzanes, the Persian satrap, devoured alone the supper prepared for nine guests.[x] These stories, though they no doubt exaggerate the facts, prove at least the idea generally entertained of the voracity of this class of wrestlers. When they are able to gratify it without danger, they acquire extraordinary strength: their stature becomes sometimes gigantic; and their adversaries, struck with terror, either decline entering the lists, or sink under the weight of their enormous bodies.

They are so oppressed by excess of nutriment, as to be obliged to pass part of their lives in a profound sleep,[y] and soon become so extremely corpulent as to be no longer known to be the same persons:[z] this is succeeded by disorders which render them as wretched as they have always been unserviceable to their country;[a] for it cannot be denied, that wrestling, boxing, and all those combats disputed with so much fury and obstinacy in the public solemnities, are no longer any thing but ostentatious exhibitions, since tactics have been brought to perfection. Egypt at no time adopted them, as they gave only a temporary strength.[b] Lacedæmon has corrected their inconveniences by the wisdom of her institutions. In the other states of Greece, men have discovered, that, by subjecting

* About 18 pounds. † About 15 French pints (or English quarts nearly.) [a] Theodor. ap. Athen. ibid. [x] Athen. ibid. p. 413. [y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 404. [z] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 1121. [a] Euripid. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 413 [b] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 73.

their children to them, they incur the risk of injuring their shape and preventing their growth:[c] and that, in a more advanced age, professed wrestlers never make good soldiers, because they are unable to support hunger, thirst, watching, the smallest wants, or the most trifling deviation from their usual habits.[d]

On coming out of the palæstra, we learnt that Telaira, the wife of Pyrrhus, a relation and friend of Apollodorus, had been suddenly taken ill, and that her life was in imminent danger; the branches of laurel and acanthus, which it is customary to suspend at the house of a sick person, had been seen at her door.[e] We immediately hastened thither, and found the relations of the family crowding around her bed, and addressing prayers to Mercury, the conductor of departed spirits,[f] while the unhappy Pyrrhus was taking his last farewel of his affectionate wife.[g] With difficulty he was forced away from this scene. We strove to remind him of the lessons which he had received at the Academy: those lessons so specious in prosperity, but so impertinent in affliction. "O Philosophy!" exclaimed he; "yesterday thou commanddest me to love my wife, to-day thou forbiddest me to lament her."[h]—"Yet after all," said we to him, your tears cannot restore her to life."—"Alas!" replied he, "that reflection only make them flow faster."[i]

[c] Aristot. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 452. [d] Plut. in Philop. t. i. p. 357. [e] Laërt. in Bion. lib. 4. § 57. Etymolog. Magn. i Αντήν. Bod. in Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 258. [f] Hom. Odyss. lib. 24. v. 9. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἑξίτ. [g] Eurip. in Alcest. v. 891. [h] Stob. Serm. 97. p. 539. [i] Id. Serm. 122. p. 613.

During the ceremony libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud;[h] and this eternal valediction redoubled those tears which had never ceased to flow from every eye.

We were next summoned to the funeral repast, where the conversation turned on the virtues of Telaira.[i] On the ninth and thirtieth days, her relations, habited in white, and crowned with flowers, again assembled to pay new honours to her manes;[k] and it was resolved that they should meet annually on her birth-day, to lament her loss, as if it were still recent. This affectionate anniversary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a society of friends, and among the disciples of the same philosopher.[l] The regret testified on these occasions is renewed at the general festival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month of Anthesterion.*[m] I have more than once likewise seen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey.[n]

Less attentive to the origin of these rights than to the sentiment by which they are preserved, I could not but admire the wisdom of the ancient legislators, who taught that sepulture and its attendant ceremo-

[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 221. [i] Id. lib. 24. v. 802. Demosth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 25. t. iii. p. 158. [k] Isæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3. c. 19. § 102. Id. lib. 1. c. 7. § 66. Id. lib. 8. c. 14. § 146. Jungerm. ibid. [l] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Γενές. * Corresponding with our months of February and March. [m] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Νεκύς. [n] Pott. Archæol. lib. 4. c. 5 et 8.

nies are to be considered as things sacred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the soul, having left its habitation, the body is stopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the desire of reaching the place of its destination, and that it appears in dreams to the survivors, who should interest themselves in its fate, until they shall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day and the injuries of the weather.[o]

Hence that anxiety to procure it the desired repose; hence the injunction imposed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpse which he may find upon his road;[p] and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the severe laws against all who violate them.

Hence also the ceremonies practised with respect to those who are swallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impossible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and by sacrifices and libations flatter themselves that they have brought back their manes,[q] to which they sometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almost equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an easy fortune when alive, some, conformably with ancient usage, have only a small column erected over their ashes.

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 23. Eustath. ibid. [p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 14. [q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 64. Eustath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 283. Schol. ibid.

During the ceremony libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud;[h] and this eternal valediction redoubled those tears which had never ceased to flow from every eye.

We were next summoned to the funeral repast, where the conversation turned on the virtues of Telaira.[i] On the ninth and thirtieth days, her relations, habited in white, and crowned with flowers, again assembled to pay new honours to her manes;[k] and it was resolved that they should meet annually on her birth-day, to lament her loss, as if it were still recent. This affectionate anniversary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a society of friends, and among the disciples of the same philosopher.[l] The regret testified on these occasions is renewed at the general festival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month of Anthesterion.*[m] I have more than once likewise seen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey.[n]

Less attentive to the origin of these rights than to the sentiment by which they are preserved, I could not but admire the wisdom of the ancient legislators, who taught that sepulture and its attendant ceremo-

[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 221. [i] Id. lib. 24. v. 802. Demosth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 25. t. iii. p. 158. [k] Isæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3. c. 19. § 102. Id. lib. 1. c. 7. § 66. Id. lib. 8. c. 14. § 146. Jungerm. ibid. [l] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Γενές. * Corresponding with our months of February and March. [m] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Νεκύς. [n] Pott. Archæol. lib. 4. c. 5 et 8.

nies are to be considered as things sacred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the soul, having left its habitation, the body is stopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the desire of reaching the place of its destination, and that it appears in dreams to the survivors, who should interest themselves in its fate, until they shall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day and the injuries of the weather.[o]

Hence that anxiety to procure it the desired repose; hence the injunction imposed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpse which he may find upon his road;[p] and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the severe laws against all who violate them.

Hence also the ceremonies practised with respect to those who are swallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impossible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and by sacrifices and libations flatter themselves that they have brought back their manes,[q] to which they sometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almost equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an easy fortune when alive, some, conformably with ancient usage, have only a small column erected over their ashes.

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 23. Eustath. ibid. [p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 14. [q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 64. Eustath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 283. Schol. ibid.

The ceremony was scarcely ended before Timagenes threw himself on his neck: and, unable to tear himself from him, called him, with a broken voice, his general, his saviour, his friend. Xenophon surveyed him with astonishment, and endeavoured to recognise features of which he had some recollection, but which were no longer familiar to him. At length he exclaimed: You are certainly Timagenes? Ah! who else could preserve such tender sentiments after so long an absence? you make me feel at this moment how delicious it is to see friends revive, from whom we seem to be separated for ever. Tender embraces followed this acknowledgment: and during the whole of our stay at Corinth, mutual explanations formed the topic of their frequent conversations.

Born in a town of Attica, and educated in the school of Socrates, Xenophon in his early years bore arms in the service of his country. He then entered as a volunteer in the army, assembled by the Younger Cyrus to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes king of Persia.[a] After the death of Cyrus, he was entrusted, conjointly with four other officers, with the command of the Grecian troops;[b] and it was then they made that masterly retreat, as greatly to be admired in its kind, as the relation he has given of it is in point of composition. On his return, he entered into the service of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, in whose glory he shared, and whose friendship he merited.[c] Some time after, the Athenians sentenced him to banish-

[a] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 294. [b] Id. ibid. p. 299.
[c] Laërt. lib. 2. § 51. Nep. in Agesil. c. 1.

ment, jealous, no doubt, of the preference he had given to the Lacedæmonians.[d] But the latter, to compensate for the harsh treatment he had suffered from his countrymen, bestowed on him an habitation at Scillus.[e]

In this happy retirement he had spent several years, and proposed returning to it as soon as the troubles of Peloponnesus should be appeased.

During our stay at Corinth, I contracted an intimacy with his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, and a still stricter friendship with Timoleon, the second son of Timodemus, at whose house we resided.

Were I to sketch the portrait of Timoleon, I should pass over the undaunted courage he has displayed in battle, for among warlike nations that is no distinction, until carried to excess it ceases to be a virtue; but to exhibit all the qualities of his mind, I should content myself with enumerating the most eminent: that consummate prudence, which in him preceded maturity; his admirable moderation when his own interests were the subject of discussion, and his unshaken firmness when those of his country were in question; his unalterable hatred of the despotism of ambition, and the tyranny of bad examples;[f] and I should render his eulogium complete, by adding, that no man more resembled Epaminondas, whom, by a secret instinct, he had adopted for his model.[g]

Timoleon was happy in the public esteem and the

[d] Laërt. lib. 2. § 51. [e] Dinarch. ap. Laërt. lib. 2. § 52. [f] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459. [g] Plut. ibid.

consciousness of his own integrity, when the enthusiasm of his virtue alienated from him almost every friend, and rendered him the most miserable of men. His brother, Timophanes, who possessed neither his knowledge nor his rectitude of principle, had collected around him a number of corrupt men, who were perpetually urging him to make himself master of the supreme authority, and finally wrought him into a persuasion that his titles were well founded. A blind presumptuous courage had procured him the confidence of the Corinthians, whose armies he had more than once commanded, and who placed him at the head of four hundred men, maintained for the internal security of the city. Timophanes converted those men into his personal guards; gained over the populace by largesses; and, seconded by a formidable party, assumed the sovereignty, and dragged the citizens suspected to the scaffold.[h]

Till now, Timoleon had only kept a watchful eye over his conduct and his projects. In hopes to reclaim him, he endeavoured to throw a veil over his faults, and to heighten the lustre of some noble actions which he had by accident performed. He had been even seen to precipitate himself, in battle, regardless of danger, amidst the enemy, and singly to sustain their joint attacks, to rescue a brother whom he loved, and whose body, covered with wounds, was on the point of falling into their hands.[i]

Indignant, at length, at seeing tyranny established

[h] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. [i] Id. ibid.

in his life-time, and in the very bosom of his family, he painted in lively colours to Timophanes the horror he felt at the crimes which he had already committed, and those which he still meditated; conjuring him immediately to abdicate an odious power, and to make atonement to the manes of the victims sacrificed to his mad ambition. Some days after, he again repaired to his apartment accompanied by two of their friends, one of them the brother-in-law of Timophanes; they reiterated their united entreaties, and conjured him by the endearing ties of blood, of friendship, and of his country. Timophanes at first answered them with the most insulting derision, and at length broke out into menaces and rage. It had been previously concerted, that a positive refusal on his part should be the signal of his destruction. His two friends, wearied with his resistance, plunged a dagger in his breast: whilst Timoleon, with his head covered with his robe, remained overwhelmed with grief, and dissolved in tears, in a corner of the apartment,[k] to which he had retired.

I cannot, without shuddering, think of that fatal moment when we heard those piercing cries, those terrifying words, re-echo through the house: Timophanes is dead! his brother-in-law has killed him! he is murdered by his brother! We happened at that instant to be with Demariste, his mother; his father was from home. Casting my eyes on this unhappy

[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. Nep. in Timol. c. 1.

woman, I saw her hair stand erect upon her head, and horror painted on her countenance amidst the shades of death. When she had recovered the use of her senses, she uttered, without shedding a single tear, the most horrid imprecations against Timoleon, who was denied even the feeble consolation of hearing them from her mouth. Shutting herself up in her apartment, she vowed never more to behold the murderer of her son.[l]

Among the Corinthians, some considered the assassination of Timophanes as an heroic, and others as an atrocious deed. The former thought they could never sufficiently extol the exalted courage which could sacrifice the ties of nature and friendship to the public good. The greater part, however, though they approved of the destruction of the tyrant,[m] added, that every citizen had a right to take away his life, except his brother. This transaction was followed by a tumult, which was soon appeased, and an accusation preferred against Timoleon, from which he was acquitted.[n]

The judgment which he passed on himself was more rigorous. No sooner did he percieve that what he had done was condemned by the greater number, than he doubted of his own innocence, and resolved to renounce life. His friends, by their entreaties and attention, at length prevailed on him to take some nourishment; but he could not be persuaded to remain with them. He quitted Corinth, and wandered for

[l] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.

several years in solitary places, entirely abandoned to his grief, bitterly deploring the errors of his virtue, and sometimes the ingratitude of the Corinthians.°

We shall one day see him again make his appearance with more lustre, and bestow happiness on a great empire which owed to him its liberty.

The trouble occasioned by the murder of his brother hastened our departure. We took leave of Xenophon with great regret. I again met with him, a few years after, at Scillus, and at a proper time shall give you an account of the conversations I then had with him. His two sons accompanied us, with intention to serve in the troops which the Athenians were preparing to send to the Lacedæmonians.

In our road we fell in with a great number of travellers, who were repairing to Athens, to be present at the greater Dionysia, one of the most celebrated festivals of that city. Besides the gratification I expected for my curiosity in the magnificence of the other spectacles, I was extremely desirous to be present at a competition that had long been customary at this time, in which poets vied with each other, and presented new tragedies and comedies. We arrived on the 5th of the month Elaphebolion,* and the festival was to commence in eight days.†

° Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. Nep. ibid. c. 1. * The first of April of the year 362 before Christ. † See note V. at the end of the volume.

During the ceremony libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud;[h] and this eternal valediction redoubled those tears which had never ceased to flow from every eye.

We were next summoned to the funeral repast, where the conversation turned on the virtues of Telaira.[i] On the ninth and thirtieth days, her relations, habited in white, and crowned with flowers, again assembled to pay new honours to her manes;[k] and it was resolved that they should meet annually on her birth-day, to lament her loss, as if it were still recent. This affectionate anniversary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a society of friends, and among the disciples of the same philosopher.[l] The regret testified on these occasions is renewed at the general festival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month of Anthesterion.*[m] I have more than once likewise seen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey.[n]

Less attentive to the origin of these rights than to the sentiment by which they are preserved, I could not but admire the wisdom of the ancient legislators, who taught that sepulture and its attendant ceremo-

[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 221. [i] Id. lib. 24. v. 802. Demosth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 25. t. iii. p. 158. [k] Isæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3. c. 19. § 102. Id. lib. 1. c. 7. § 66. Id. lib. 8. c. 14. § 146. Jungerm. ibid. [l] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Γενές. * Corresponding with our months of February and March. [m] Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Νεκύς. [n] Pott. Archæol. lib. 4. c. 5 et 8.

nies are to be considered as things sacred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the soul, having left its habitation, the body is stopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the desire of reaching the place of its destination, and that it appears in dreams to the survivors, who should interest themselves in its fate, until they shall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day and the injuries of the weather.[o]

Hence that anxiety to procure it the desired repose; hence the injunction imposed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpse which he may find upon his road;[p] and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the severe laws against all who violate them.

Hence also the ceremonies practised with respect to those who are swallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impossible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and by sacrifices and libations flatter themselves that they have brought back their manes,[q] to which they sometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almost equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an easy fortune when alive, some, conformably with ancient usage, have only a small column erected over their ashes.

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 23. Eustath. ibid. [p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 14. [q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 64. Eustath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 283. Schol. ibid.

A few days after there was a review of the troops, to which I went, in company with Timagenes, Apollodorus, and Philotas. We there saw Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, Chabrias, all the old generals, and those for the present year. The latter had been drawn by lot, according to custom, in the assembly of the people. They were ten in number, one chosen from each tribe.[k] This brings to my mind a remark of Philip of Macedon: "I envy the good fortune of the Athenians," said he; "they find ten men every year able to command their armies, whilst I could never find any one but Parmenio to head mine."[l]

Formerly the command devolved alternately on the ten strategi. Every day the army had a new general;[m] and when the council was divided, the polemarch, one of the chief magistrates of the republic, had the right of given his suffrage.[n] At present the whole authority is commonly vested in the hands of one man, who is obliged, at his return, to give an account of what he has done, unless previously invested with unlimited power.[o] The other generals remain at Athens, with no other function than that of appearing at public ceremonies.[p]

The infantry[q] was composed of three orders: the oplitæ, or heavy-armed soldiers; the light armed; and

[k] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 50. Aristot. et Hypr. ap. Harpocr. in Στρατηγ. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.; et alii. [l] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [m] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 110. Plut. in Arist. t. i. p. 321. [n] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 109. [o] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Suid. in Αὐτοκρ. [p] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 51. [q] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.

the peltastæ, whose arms were neither so weighty as those of the former, nor so light as those of the latter.[r]

The defensive armour of the oplitæ consisted of the helmet, the cuirass, the buckler, and a sort of buskins that covered the fore part of the leg; their offensive weapons were the lance and the sword.[s]

The light-armed troops were to cast javelins or darts; and some to throw stones with the sling or hand. The peltastæ carried a spear, and a small shield called the pelta.

The shields, almost all made of willow,[t] or sometimes of osier, were ornamented with colours, emblems, and inscriptions.[u] I saw some on which these words were written in golden letters, To GOOD FORTUNE;[x] and others, on which some officers bore symbols alluding to their character or taste. As I passed on, I overheard an old man saying to his companions: I was in that unfortunate expedition into Sicily, fifty-three years ago. I served under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. You have heard of the riches of the first, and of the valour and beauty of the second; the third was distinguished by his undaunted courage. The buckler of Nicias was decorated with gold and purple,[y] that of Lamachus represented a gorgon's

[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 10. Ælian. Tact. c. 2. [s] Suid. in Οπλ. [t] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 9. Pol. lib. 1. c. 10. § 133. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. c. 4. p. 518. [u] Æschyl. Sept. cont. Theb. v. 393, &c. [x] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 855. [y] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Pol. lib. 1. c. 10. § 134.

head,[z] and that of Alcibiades bore a cupid darting thunder.[a]

I was desirous of hearing the rest of this conversation, but was interrupted by the arrival of Iphicrates, to whom Apollodorus had been recounting the adventures of Timagenes and myself. After the first salutations, Timagenes complimented him on the changes he had introduced into the armour of the oplitæ. They were necessary, answered Iphicrates: the phalanx, oppressed with the weight of their arms, could scarcely perform the necessary motions, and were better fitted to resist, than act offensively against the enemy. The metal cuirass is exchanged for one of canvas, and a small and light buckler is substituted for those enormous shields, which, while they protected the body, prevented the soldier from acting. The spear is lengthened one third; and the sword is half as long again as formerly. The soldier fastens and unbinds the armour of his legs with more facility.[b] I was particularly desirous of rendering the oplitæ more formidable, for they are in an army what the breast is to the human body. As Iphicrates had no objection to display his eloquence, he pursued his simile, comparing the general to the head, the cavalry to the feet, and the light troops to the hands.[c] Timagenes asked him, why he had not adopted the Bœotian helmet, which covers the neck, extending even over the cuirass?[d] This question led to many others, on

[z] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 573. Schol. ibid. [a] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198. [b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 360. Nep. in Iphicr. c. 1. [c] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278. [d] Xen. de Re Equest. p. 952.

the manual exercise of the troops, as well as on the Greek and Persian tactics. I at the same time made inquiries of Apollodorus relative to many subjects, which will be explained by his answers.

Under the ten strategi, said he, there are the same number of taxiarchs, who, like the former, are annually appointed by lot, and drawn from each tribe in the general assembly.[e] It is their duty, under the direction of the generals, to provide the army with necessaries, to regulate the order of its marches, superintend its encampments,[f] maintain discipline, and take care that the arms are in good order. Occasionally, they command the right wing,[g] and the general sometimes dispatches them to carry the news of a victory, and give a particular account of what passed in the battle.[h]

At this moment we saw a man habited in a tunic[i] reaching to his knees, and over which he should have worn his cuirass, which he held in his hands, with his other arms. On his approaching the taxiarch of his tribe, near to whom we were, Comrade, said that officer to him, why do you not put on your cuirass? He answered, The time of my service is expired; I was ploughing my field when you called over the names yesterday. I was enrolled in the militia under the archonship of Callias; look at your list of ar-

[e] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 50. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 54. [f] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. c. 5. Port. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. c. 5. [g] Aristoph in Av. v. 352. [h] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422. [i] Xen. Exped. lib. 5. p. 347. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 37.

chons,[k] and you will see that upwards of forty-two years have elapsed since that period. Nevertheless, if my country stands in need of me, I have brought my arms. The officers having examined, found that what he said was true; and, after conferring with the general, erased the name of this worthy citizen, and substituted another.[l]

The places of the ten taxiarchs are of that kind of public employments which men are more anxious to obtain, than scrupulously to discharge. Most of them avoid following the army, and their functions are divided among the chiefs whom the general places at the head of divisions and subdivisions.[m] They are pretty numerous. Some have the command of 128 men, others of 256, 512, and 1024,[n] following a proportion unlimited in ascending, but which in descending ends in a term that may be considered as the element or basis of the different divisions of the phalanx. This element is the file, sometimes composed of eight men, but oftener of sixteen.[o]

Here I interrupted Apollodorus, to show him a man with a crown upon his head, and a caduceus in his hand.[p] I have already, said I, seen several of these pass by. They are heralds, answered he. Their persons are sacred, and their functions important;

[k] Demosth. ap. Harpoc. in Ἐπώνυμ. [l] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1181. Lys. pro Mil. p. 161. [m] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. c. 9. § 10. [n] Arrian. Tact. p. 28. Ælian. Tact. c. 4. [o] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 515. Arrian. Tact. p. 18. Ælian. c. 7. [p] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 53.

they proclaim war, propose a truce or peace,[q] publish the orders of the general,[r] give out orders, assemble the army,[s] declare the time of departure, the place of destination, and how many days' provision will be necessary.[t] If, at the moment of attack or retreat, the voice of the herald is overpowered by the tumult, signals are hoisted;[u] if the dust prevents them from being seen, the trumpet is sounded; and all these methods failing, an aide-du-camp flies from rank to rank, to carry the commands of the general.[x]

At this instant, some young men, passing with the utmost rapidity, had nearly thrown down several grave personages who were marching with slow and solemn steps. The first, said Apollodorus, are messengers;[y] the latter, soothsayers: two kinds of men often employed in our army; the one, to carry the orders of the general to a distance; the other, to examine the entrails of the victims, and declare from them the will of the gods.[z]

Thus, said I, among the Greeks, the operations of a campaign depend on the interest and ignorance of these pretended interpreters of the commands of heaven. Too often, replied he. Yet, admitting that superstition has introduced them among us, it is not perhaps impolitic to retain them. Our soldiers are

[q] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 533. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 366. [r] Id. ibid. p. 317. Id. de Laced. Rep. p. 686. [s] Id. Exped. lib. 3. p. 299. [t] Id. ibid. p. 312. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 450. [u] Thucyd. ibid. c. 63. Suid. in Σημ. Ælian. Tact. c. 34. [x] Xen. ibid. lib. 4. p. 319; et alii. [y] Suid. in Εκτακτ. Guisch. Tact. d'Arrien. t. ii. p. 169. [z] Suid. in Ἡμεροδρ. Harpocr. in Δρομοκ. [a] Xen. de Mag. Equit. p. 972. Id. Exped. Cyr. et alii.

free men; brave; but impatient, and incapable of submitting to the prudent delays of a general, who, unable to prevail on them to listen to reason, has frequently no other resource but to make the gods speak.

As we were walking around the phalanx, I observed that each general officer had by his side a subaltern, who never quitted him. He is his shield-bearer,[b] said Apollodorus. He is obliged to follow him into the heat of the battle, and, on certain occasions, to take charge of his buckler.[c] Every oplites, or heavy-armed soldier, has likewise an attendant,[d] who, among other functions, executes that of shield-bearer;[e] but care is taken to send him back to the baggage before the engagement.[f] With us, dishonour lies in the loss of the buckler,[g] and not of the sword or other offensive weapons. Why this difference? said I. To give us a momentous lesson, answered he; to teach us to think less of spilling the blood of the enemy, than of preventing them from shedding ours;[h] thus intimating, that war should rather be deemed a state of defence than of attack.

We next went to the Lycæum, to see the cavalry reviewed. The command of it belongs of right to two generals named hipparchs, and ten particular officers

[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 11. c. 9. Plut. Apopht. t. ii. p. 194. [c] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 321. [d] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 177. [e] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. § 10. [f] Ælian. Tact. c. 53. Arrian. Tact. p. 73. [g] Æschin. in Tim. p. 264. Lys. in Theomn. p. 174. Andoc. de Myst. p. 10. [h] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.

called phylarchs; both of which are annually drawn by lot in the assembly of the people.[j]

Some Athenians are early enrolled in this body, as almost all the others are in the infantry. It consists only of twelve hundred men,[k] each tribe furnishing one hundred and twenty, with the officer who is to command them.[l] The number actually employed is usually regulated by that of the heavy-armed soldiers; and the proportion, which varies according to circumstances, is often that of one to ten; that is to say, two hundred horses are added to two thousand oplitæ.[m]

It is not above a century, said Apollodorus, that we have had any cavalry in our armies. It is numerous in Thessaly, because that country abounds in pasturage. The other districts of Greece are so dry and barren, as to make it difficult to rear horses; for which reason none but the rich enter into the cavalry;[n] and hence the respect and honour annexed to that service.[o]

No person can obtain admission into this corps without the previous consent of the generals, the particular officers, and especially of the senate, who pay extraordinary attention to the maintenance and splendour of so distinguished a body of men.[p] They are now attending at the inspection of the new levies.

[j] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 50. [k] Andoc. Orat. de Pace, p. 24 Suid. in Ἱππ. [l] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 94. Harpocr. in Φύλ. [m] Demosth. ibid. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 440. [n] Xen. de Re Equestr. p. 935. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. iii. t. ii. p. 365. [p] Xen. de Mag. Equit. p. 955. Lycurg. ap Harpocr. Δοκιμ.

The soldiers appeared before them with a helmet, cuirass, buckler, sword, lance, or javelin, a small cloak, &c. Whilst they were proceeding to the examination of the arms, Timagenes, who had made every thing relative to the military art his particular study, said to us: A cuirass too wide or too strait becomes either an insupportable weight, or binds and confines the body.[q] The helmet should be so contrived as to suffer the horseman occasionally to draw it down over the middle of his face. The left arm should be defended by the armour lately invented, which easily stretching and folding up, wholly covers that part of the body from the shoulder to the hand. On the right arm should be worn leather arm-pieces and brass plates; and in certain places calves skin, care being taken that these means of defence do not confine the motions of the body; the legs and feet should be defended by leathern boots,[r] provided with spurs.[s] The sabre is justly preferred to the sword for horsemen. Instead of those long lances, so brittle and heavy, that you see used by most of our soldiers, I should like better two small pikes of the service wood, the one to throw, the other for defence.[t] The head and breast of the horse should be protected by armour, and his flanks and belly by cloth spread on his back, on which the rider may be seated.[u]

Though the Athenian cavalry had not adopted all the improvements which Timagenes had suggested,

[q] Xen. de Re Equesr. p. 952. [r] Id. ibid. p. 953. [s] Id. ibid. p. 944. [t] Id. ibid. p. 953. [u] Id. ibid. p. 952. et de Magist. Equit. p. 958.

yet he was tolerably well satisfied with the manner in which they were armed. The senators and general officers dismissed some who did not appear to have sufficient strength of body,[x] and reproached others with neglecting their arms. They next examined whether the horses were easy to mount,[y] docile to the bit, and capable of supporting fatigue;[z] whether they were not vicious,[a] too fiery, or too tame.[b] Several of them were found faulty, and rejected; to prevent any of the old or infirm ones from ever again being introduced, they were marked on the jaw with a hot iron.[c]

During the course of this examination, the soldiers of one of the tribes advanced with loud clamours to accuse to the senate one of their comrades who, a few years before, in the heat of action, had passed from the infantry into the cavalry, without the permission of the officers. The offence being public, and the law express,[d] he was sentenced to that species of infamy which deprives a citizen of the greater part of his privileges.

The same penalty is inflicted on the citizen who refuses to serve[e] unless compelled by the courts of justice.[f] It is incurred likewise by the soldier who flies at sight of the enemy, or, to avoid danger es-

[x] Xen. de Magist. Equit. p. 955. [y] Id. de Re Equestr. p. 936. [z] Id. de Magist. Equit. p. 954. [a] Id. de Re Equestr. p. 937. [b] Id. ibid. p. 947. [c] Hesych. et Etym. Τρυσιπ. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 4. p. 1517. [d] Lys. in Alcib. 1. p. 276 et 282. Id. in Alcib. 2. p. 299. Lys. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ. Demosth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 148. [e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Timocr. p. 789. [f] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 955.

capes into a less exposed rank.[g] In all these cases, the offender is excluded from the general assembly and public sacrifices; and should he appear, each citizen is entitled to commence a prosecution against him. The punishments for such delinquencies are different; and if it be a pecuniary fine, he is thrown into prison till he pays it.

Treason is punished with death,[h] as is desertion;[i] for to desert is to betray the state.[k] The general has the power of degrading to an inferior rank, and even of employing in the meanest functions, the officer who dishonours himself, or is guilty of disobedience.[l]

Such rigorous laws, said I, must certainly maintain a sense of honour and subordination in your armies. Apollodorus answered: A state which ceases to protect its laws can no longer expect to be protected by them. The most essential of all, that which obliges each citizen personally to defend his country, is every day shamefully violated. The wealthiest procure themselves to be registered in the cavalry, and avoid service, either by voluntary contributions,[m] or by finding a substitute, whom they furnish with a horse.[n] We shall soon have no more Athenians in our armies. You saw a small number indeed enrolled yesterday, but they have been just

[g] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 456. Lys. in Alcib. 1. p. 275 et 278. [h] Lys. in Philon. p. 498. [i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563. [k] Suid. et Hesych. in Αὐτόμολ. [l] Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. p. 957. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 556. [m] Demosth. in Mid. p. 629. Xen. de Magist. Equit. p. 972. [n] Potter. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. c. 3.

associated with a band of mercenaries, to whom we blush not to confide the safety of the republic. For some time past a set of daring chiefs have arisen in Greece, who, after collecting soldiers of all nations, fly from country to country, with death and desolation in their train, prostituting their valour to the power that pays them, and equally ready to turn their arms against it on the slightest discontent.[o] Such, at this day, are the resources and the hope of Athens. No sooner is war declared, than the people, accustomed to the sweets of peace, and dreading the fatigues of a campaign, exclaim with one voice, Send for ten thousand or twenty thousand foreigners.[p] Our ancestors would have shuddered at these disgraceful clamours; but abuse has become custom, and that custom law.

However, said I, if among these venal troops you could find some capable of discipline, by incorporating them with your own, you would compel them to keep a mutual watch over each other, and possibly produce an useful emulation.[q] If our virtues stand in need of spectators, answered he, why go in search of them out of the limits of the republic? By an admirable institution, the members of a tribe or district are enrolled in the same cohort, the same squadron; they march, they fight by the side of their relations, their friends, their neighbours, their rivals. What soldier

[o] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 747. Id. Philip. 1. p. 50. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 384. Id. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 278. Id. Epist. 2. ad Philip. ibid. p. 457. Id. Epist. ad Archid. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 334. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. c. 10. § 9. [p] Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 50. [q] Xen. de Magist. Equit. 1. p. 971.

would dare to commit an act of cowardice in the presence of such formidable witnesses? How, at his return, could he bear the sight of men ever ready to cover him with confusion?

After Apollodorus had expatiated on the scandalous luxury which the officers, and even the generals, were beginning to introduce into the army,[r] I desired him to inform me of the pay of the foot-soldiers and cavalry. That, answered Apollodorus, has varied according to times and circumstances. I have heard old men, who served sixty-eight years ago at the siege of Potidæa, say, that the pay of the oplites, for himself and attendant,[s] was two drachmas a day;* but this was a singular instance, and exhausted the public treasury. About twenty years after, the republic was obliged to dismiss a body of light troops that had been sent for from Thrace, because they required the half of this pay.[t]

The ordinary pay of the oplites at present is four oboli, or twenty drachmas, a month.†[u] Twice this sum is usually given to the leader of a cohort, and quadruple to the general.[x] This sum is sometimes reduced, from peculiar circumstances, to one half;[y] in which case it is presumed that this is sufficient to

[r] Demosth. in Mid. p. 625. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532. [s] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 17. * 1 livre 16 sols (or 18 pence.) [t] Thucyd. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 461. † About 12 sols (or 6 pence) a day; 18 livres (or 15 shillings) monthly. [u] Theopomp. ap. Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 64. Eustath. in Iliad. p. 951. Id. in Odyss. p. 1405. [x] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 402 et 413. [y] Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 51.

procure a bare subsistence for the foot-soldier, and that his share of booty will make up the deficiency.

The pay of the horseman, in time of war, is, according to circumstances, double,[z] triple,[a] nay, even quadruple[b], to that of the foot-soldier. In peace, when there is no longer any pay, he receives, for the maintenance of his horse, sixteen drachmas a month,* which makes an annual expenditure of about forty talents† for the public treasury.[c]

Apollodorus was never wearied with satisfying my curiosity. The soldiers, before they march, said he, are ordered to lay in provisions for some days.[d] It is then the business of the generals to provide the markets with every thing necessary.[e] The baggage is conveyed in covered waggons, on beasts of burthen and by slaves. Sometimes the soldiers are themselves obliged to carry it.[f]

You wish to know the practice of the Greeks respecting the spoils taken from the enemy. The right of disposing of them, or making a distribution, has always been considered as one of the prerogatives of the general. During the Trojan war they were laid at his feet; one part he reserved for himself, and divided the remainder either among the chiefs or soldiers.[g] Eight hundred years after, the generals

[z] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 47. [a] Demosth. ibid. [b] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 556. * About 14 livres 8 sols (or 12 shillings.) † About 216,000 livres (or 9,000*l.* sterling.) [c] Xen. de Mag. Equit. p. 956. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 552. [d] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 196. Schol. ibid. Plut. in Phoc. p. 752. [e] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762. [f] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 303, &c. [g] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 330. Odyss. lib. 9. v. 39; lib. 14. v. 232.

regulated the partition of the spoils taken from the Persians after the battle of Platæa. They were shared among the soldiers, after setting apart a certain portion to decorate the temples of Greece, and decreeing proportionable rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in the action.[h]

From that period to the present time, the Grecian generals have been seen successively disposing of the sums arising from the sale of plunder; depositing them in the public treasury;[i] assigning them to defray the expense of public works,[k] or the decoration of temples;[l] enriching with them their friends or soldiers;[m] adding them to their own wealth,[n] or at least appropriating to themselves the third, which in certain countries is regularly assigned them by constant usage.[o]

With us there is no law to restrain the prerogative of the general, who avails himself of it as he happens to be more or less disinterested. All that the state requires of him is, that the troops may live, if possible, at the expense of the enemy, and find in the division of the spoils a supplement to their pay, when

[h] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 331. [i] This is what was done sometimes by Cimon, Plut. p. 484 et 487; by Timotheus, Nep. in Tim. c. 1; by Lysander, Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 225. Plut. in Lys. p. 442. [k] Cimon, Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Nep. in Cim. c. 2. [l] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 80. Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 114. [m] Myronides, Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 63. Agesilaus, Nep. in Ages. c. 3. Plut. in Ages. p. 601. Xen. in Ages. p. 654. Iphicrates, Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. c. 9. § 3. [n] Cimon, Plut. et Nep. ut supra. [o] Cleomenes, Polyb. Hist. lib. 2. p. 147.

it becomes necessary to diminish it from motives of economy.

The following days were set apart for the exercise of the troops. I shall not attempt to speak of all the manœuvres to which I was a witness; my description would be but imperfect, and useless to those for whom I am writing: the following are only a few general observations.

Near Mount Anchesmus, we found a body of sixteen hundred heavy-armed infantry, drawn up sixteen deep, and one hundred in front, each soldier occupying[p] the space of four cubits.* To them was added another body of light-armed troops.

The best men were placed in the first and last ranks.[q] The commanders of the files especially, as well as those at each end, were all of them men distinguished for their bravery and experience.[r] One of the officers gave the word of command. Take up your arms, cried he:[s] Followers, leave the phalanx: Raise your pikes: Lower your pikes: File-leader, dress the files: Take your distances: To the right about: To the left about:[t] The pike within your buckler:[u] March:[x] Halt: Double your files: Recover your position: The Lacedæmonian evolution: Recover your position, &c.

At the word of command, we saw the phalanx

[p] Ælian. Tact. c. 11. * 5 feet 8 inches French (or 6 feet English nearly). [q] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762. [r] Arrian. Tact. p. 20 et 33. Ælian. Tact. c. 51. [s] Arrian. ibid. p. 73. Ælian. Tact. c. 51 et 53. [t] Theophr. Charact. Περὶ Ὀψιμαθ. [u] Aristoph. in Av. v. 388. Schol. ibid. [x] Arrian. Ælian. ut supra.

successively open its files and ranks, close and compress them, so that the soldier, occupying only the space of one cubit,* was no longer able to move either to the right or left.[y] Now we saw it form a close line, and now divided into sections, the intervals of which were occasionally occupied by light troops;[z] and, at length, by means of certain evolutions, assuming all the forms of which it was capable, marching forward in a column in a perfect or oblong square, either with a hollow or solid centre, &c.[a]

During these manœuvres, blows were frequently given to untractable or negligent soldiers.[b] This surprised me the more, as among the Athenians it is not permitted to strike even a slave.[c] Hence I concluded that dishonour in polished nations, often depends more on arbitrary circumstances than on the real nature of things.

These evolutions were scarcely finished before we discovered a cloud of dust arising at a distance, and the advanced posts[d] announced the approach of the enemy. This was a second body of infantry that had been exercising at the Lycæum,[e] and which had been sent by its commanders to make an attack upon the former, to exhibit the representation of a battle.[f] The shout, to arms! was instantly given; the soldiers

* 18 inches. [y] Arrian. Tact. p. 32. Ælian. Tact. c. 11. [z] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 353. [a] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 304. Traduct. de M. le Comte de la Luzerne, p. 407. t. i. Arrian. Tact. p. 69. [b] Xen. ibid. lib. 5. p. 368. [c] Id. de Rep. Athen. p. 693. [d] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 2. p. 278. [e] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 355. Schol. ibid. in v. 353. [f] Onosand. Inst. c. 10. p. 34.

flew to their ranks, and the light troops took their station in the rear; whence they poured on the enemy[g] arrows, darts, and stones, which passed over the heads of the phalanx.*

Meanwhile the enemy were advancing with redoubled speed,[h] carrying their pikes on the right shoulder. Their light troops approached[i] with loud shouts, were repulsed, put to flight, and succeeded by the oplitæ, who halted at the distance of the flight of a javelin. A profound silence now reigned through both lines.[k] Presently the trumpet gave the signal. The soldiers sang the hymn of battle in honour of Mars,[l] and lowered their pikes, some striking their bucklers with them.[m] The whole body ran forward in a line, and in perfect order. To increase their ardour, the general gave the shout of battle,[n] while they a thousand times repeated after him ELELEU, ELELELEU![o] The action now appeared very animated; the enemy were dispersed, and we heard the word ALALE![†] which is the shout of vic-

[g] Xen. Cyrop. lib. 6. p. 167. Arrian. Tact. p. 20. * Onosander (Inst. cap. 10.) says, that in these mock fights the oplitæ had staves and leathern straps; the light-armed troops, pellets or clods of earth. [h] Xen. Exped. lib. 6. p. 387. [i] Ælian. Tact. c. 17. [k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 8. [l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 474. Id. Exped. lib. 4. p. 324, 326, &c. [m] Id Exped. lib. 1. p. 265. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 163. [n] Xen. ap. Demet. Phaler. c. 98. [o] Id. Exped. lib. 1. p. 265. Aristoph. in Av. v. 363. Schol. ibid. Hesych. et Suid. in 'Ελελευ. † In ancient times, the last letter of the word *Alalé* was pronounced like the French *i* (Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.) To adapt this observation to the English mode of pronouncing the vowels, it is scarcely necessary to desire the reader to substitute *a* for *e* in the first instance, and *ee* for *i* in the second.

tory,[p] re-echoed on all sides through our little army.

Our light troops went in pursuit of the enemy,[q] and brought in several prisoners. The victorious soldiers prepared a trophy, and, ranging themselves in order of battle, in front of an adjoining camp, laid down their arms, but in such order as to be found all ready formed on taking them up.[r] They then retired into the camp; where, after taking a slight repast, they passed the night on beds of leaves.[s]

None of the precautions observed in time of war were neglected. No fires were made in the camp;[t] but some were lighted in the front to discover any attempts of the enemy.[u] Evening sentinels were posted,[x] and relieved at the different watches of the night.[y] The round was often made by an officer carrying a little bell,[z] at the sound of which the sentinel pronounced the order or watch-word. This word is a sign, changed from time to time, to distinguish those of the same party. It is communicated to the officers and soldiers before a battle, to enable them to rally in the heat of action; and before night, that they may know each other in the dark.[a] The general gives it; and

[p] Aristoph. in Av. v. 954 et 1761. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Ἀλαλ. [q] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 387. [r] Traduction de l'Expédition de Cyrus, par M. le Comte de la Luzerne, t. i. p. 221. [s] Polyæn. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 19. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1678. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 347. [t] Aristoph. in Av. v. 842. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 587. [x] Id. Exped. lib. 7. p. 406. [y] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 316. [z] Aristoph. in Av. v. 843 et 1160. Schol. ibid. Ulpian. in Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 377. [a] Xen. Exped. lib. 6. p. 386; lib. 7. p. 406.

the greatest mark of distinction he has it in his power to confer, is to grant this privilege to another.[b] The following formularies are frequently employed: JUPITER SAVIOUR AND HERCULES CONDUCTOR;[c] JUPITER SAVIOUR AND VICTORY; MINERVA-PALLAS; THE SUN AND MOON; SWORD AND DAGGER.[d]

Iphicrates, who had never quitted us, told us that he had suppressed the use of the bell in going the rounds; and, the better to conceal the word from the enemy, gave out two different ones for the officer and the sentinel, so that one, for instance, answered, JUPITER SAVIOUR; the other, NEPTUNE.[e]

Iphicrates was of opinion that the camp should be defended by a circumvallation. That is a precaution, said he, which should be constantly observed, and which I never neglected even when in a friendly country.[f]

You see those beds of leaves, added he. Sometimes I order one only to be made for two soldiers, at others each soldier has two. I then quit my camp; the enemy comes, numbers my beds, and supposing me at the head of more or fewer forces than I really have, either does not venture to attack me, or attacks to disadvantage.[g]

I maintain vigilance among my troops, by privately exciting panic terrors, by frequent alarms, and sometimes by a false rumour of treachery, of an ambuscade, or of a reinforcement received by the enemy.[h]

[b] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 7. p. 407. [c] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 386.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 264. Æneas, Comment. c. 24. [e] Id. ibid.
[f] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 17. [g] Id. ibid. § 19. [h] Id. ibid.

To prevent a pernicious idleness in times of tranquillity, I employ my men to dig trenches, cut down trees, and remove the camp and baggage from place to place.[j]

But, above all, I endeavour to lead them by the incentive of honour. One day, when on the point of engaging, I observed some soldiers turn pale; I immediately said aloud, If any one of you has forgotten any thing in the camp, let him go back, and return as speedily as possible. The cowards availing themselves of the permission, I then exclaimed: The slaves have disappeared! none remain with us but the brave! We marched, and the enemy took to flight.[k]

Iphicrates related to us many such stratagems, which had been attended with similar success. We withdrew towards the middle of the night. On the next, and several succeeding days, we saw the cavalry exercise at the Lycæum and near the Academy:[l] they were trained to vault on horseback without aid,[m] to throw javelins,[n] leap ditches, climb eminences, and ride along declivities;[o] to attack and pursue each other,[p] and to perform various kinds of evolutions, now separately, and afterwards in conjunction with the infantry.

Timagenes said to me, However excellent this cavalry may be, they will be beaten if they come to action with that of the Thebans. These admit but a small number of slingers and dartmen into the inter-

[j] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. c. 9. § 35. [k] Id. ibid. § 1. [l] Xen. de Magist. Equit. p. 959, &c. [m] Id. ibid. p. 954. [n] Id. ibid. p. 954 et 956. [o] Id. ibid. p. 966; et de Re Equest. p. 936. [p] Id. de Re Equest. p. 951.

vals of their line; the Thebans have three times as many, and employ none but Thessalians, who are superior in this species of attack to all the nations of Greece. The event justified the prediction of Timagenes.[q]

The army prepared for its departure. Many families were in consternation. The sentiments of nature and of love now began to revive with redoubled energy in the hearts of wives and mothers. Whilst they were thus abandoning themselves to their fears, the ambassadors lately arrived from Lacedæmon entertained us with accounts of the courage which the Spartan women had displayed on such occasions. A young soldier showing his sword to his mother, said: It is very short. Well then, replied she, you have only to advance a step further.[r] Another Lacedæmonian woman, while giving her son his shield,[s] said to him: Return with this, or upon this.*

The troops were present at the festival of Bacchus, and on the last day we witnessed a ceremony which the circumstances of the moment rendered peculiarly interesting. The senate, the army, and a prodigious number of citizens of all ranks, and foreigners from every country, were spectators of it. At the end of the last tragedy, we saw a herald make his appearance on the stage, followed by several young orphans

[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394. [r] Plut. Apopht. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241. [s] Arist. ap. Stob. serm. 7. p. 88. Plut. ibid. Sext. Emp. Plut. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 181. * At Sparta, to lose the shield was dishonourable in the highest degree; and it was on their shields that the dead bodies of soldiers were brought from the field of battle.

clad in glittering armour. He advanced, in order to present them to this august assembly; and, with a firm and sonorous voice, slowly pronounced these words: "Behold these young men, whose fathers were slain in battle, after bravely fighting. The people who adopted them have taken care of their education until their twentieth year. This day they give them a complete suit of armour; they return them to their homes, and assign them the first places at our public spectacles."[t] Every heart felt the liveliest emotion. The troops shed tears of sensibility, and on the next day began their march.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 46. Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 248. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Lesbon. in Protrept. p. 172. Laërt. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55.

CHAPTER XI.

*The Theatre.**

I HAVE just been to see a tragedy; and in the confused state of my ideas, hastily commit to paper the impressions it has made upon me.

The theatre opened at break of day;[a] I went thither with Philotas. Nothing can be imagined more grand and striking than the first view. On one side we see the stage, ornamented with scenes executed by the ablest artists; and on the other a vast amphitheatre, lined with seats rising one above the other to a very great height; with landing-places and stairs, which lengthened out, and intersecting each other at intervals, facilitate the communication, and divide the seats into several compartments, some of which are reserved for particular communities and classes of citizens.

The people flocked hither in crowds; they kept coming and going, ascending, descending, shouting, laughing, pressing, and pushing each other, and braving the officers, who were running about on all

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the first day of the greater Dionysia, or grand festivals of Bacchus, which, according to Dodwell, always began on the 12th of Elaphebolion, fell on the 8th of April of the year 362 before Christ. [a] Xen. Œcon. p. 825. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440.

sides to maintain order.[x] Amid this tumult, the nine archons, or chief magistrates of the republic, the courts of justice,[y] the senate of five hundred, the general officers of the army,[z] the ministers of the altars,[a] successively arrived. These different bodies occupied the lower seats. Above them were placed all the young men who had attained their eighteenth year.[b] The women were stationed in a place that kept them at a distance from the men and the courtezans.[c] The orchestra was empty. That was set apart for emulative contests in poetry, music, and dancing, which take place after the representation of the pieces; for here all the arts are united to gratify all tastes.

I saw some Athenians who had purple carpets spread under their feet, and were luxuriously lolling on cushions brought thither by their slaves;[d] others, who, before and during the representation, called for wine, fruit, and cakes;[e] others again, who briskly stepped upon the benches to choose a commodious place, and take it from the person then occupying it.[f] They have a right so to do, said Philotas. It is a distinction they have received from the republic, as a recompense for services.

[x] Demosth. in Mid. p. 631. Ulpian. ibid. p. 688. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 733. [y] Poll. Onom. lib. 4. c. 19. § 121. [z] Theophr. Charact. c. 5. Casaub. ibid. p. 51. [a] Hesych. in Νεμης. [b] Poll. ibid. § 122. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 795. [c] Aristoph. Eccles. v. 22. Schol. ibid. [d] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440. Theophr. Charact. c. 2. [e] Philoch. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 464. [f] Aristoph. Equit. v. 572. Schol. ibid. Suid in Προεδ.

Observing that I was astonished at the number of spectators, he told me they might amount to about thirty thousand.[g] The solemnity of these festivals, said he, attracts people from all parts of Greece, and diffuses a spirit of delirium among the inhabitants of this city. For many days you will see them neglect all business, deny themselves sleep, and spend part of the day here, without ever being satiated with the variety of exhibitions. This pleasure has double charms for them, as they but seldom taste it. The competition of dramatic pieces takes place only at two other festivals. But authors reserve all their efforts for this. We are promised seven or eight new pieces.[h] Do not be surprised: every man in Greece, who writes for the theatre, is anxious to offer us the homage of his talents.[i] Besides, we sometimes revive the pieces of our ancient authors; and the lists are about to be opened with the Antigone of Sophocles. You will have the pleasure of hearing two excellent actors, Theodorus and Aristodemus.[k]

Philotas had scarcely ended, before a herald, after commanding silence,[l] proclaimed: Let the chorus of Sophocles advance.[m] This was to announce the piece, and a perfect silence ensued. The theatre represented the vestibule of the palace of Creon, king of Thebes.[n] Antigone and Ismene, daughters of

[g] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 173 et 175. [h] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 785. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 181.
[i] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 183. [k] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 331.
[l] Ulpian. in Demosth. p. 687. [m] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 11. Schol. ibid. [n] Soph. in Antig. v. 18. Argum. Aristoph. Grammat. ibid.

Œdipus, opened the scene in masks. Their declamation appears natural, said I; but their voice surprises me. What are the names of these two actresses?—Theodorus and Aristodemus, answered Philotas; for here no women appear on the stage.[o] A moment after, a chorus of aged Thebans entered, arranged three in front, and five deep, walking with measured steps, and celebrating, in melodious songs, the victory just gained by the Thebans over Polynices, brother of Antigone.

The plot now insensibly unfolded. Every thing I saw and heard was so novel to me, that my attention increased each instant with my surprise. Hurried along by the enchantment that surrounded me, I seemed to be in the midst of Thebes. I beheld Antigone pay the tribute of funeral duties to Polynices, in despite of the rigorous prohibition of Creon. I saw the tyrant, deaf to the prayers of his son, the virtuous Hæmon, whom she was on the point of espousing, order her to be violently dragged into a dark cavern, which appeared at the bottom of the stage,[p] and which was to become her tomb. Presently, terrified with the menaces of Heaven, he advanced towards the cavern, whence issued the most dreadful groans. They were the groans of his son, holding in close embrace the wretched Antigone, who had terminated her miseries by the fatal knot. The presence of Creon irritates his fury: he draws his

[o] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. Aul. Gel. lib. 7. c. 5. Lucian. de Salt. c. 28. t. ii. p. 285.

[p] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 124.

sword against his father; then, piercing himself with it, falls at the feet of his mistress, in whose arms he remains locked till he expires.

Almost all these tragic events passed as it were before my eyes, or rather a happy distance mitigated their horror. What then is that art that excites in me at once such pleasing and such painful sensations; that strongly fixes my attention on calamities, which, if realized, it would be impossible for me to support? What a marvellous combination of illusions and realities! I flew to the aid of the two lovers; I detested the remorseless author of their sorrows.—The most violent passions rent my soul, without tormenting it; and for the first time I found charms even in hatred.

Thirty thousand spectators, melting into tears, redoubled my emotion and delirium. How interesting did the princess appear, when, by the relentless guards dragged toward the cavern, her lofty and unconquerable soul, yielding to the imperious voice of Nature, for a single moment seemed to confess weakness, and gave utterance to these plaintive accents:

"Must I then, while yet alive, slowly descend into the mansions of the dead?[q] Shall I no more behold the light of heaven?[r] O tomb, O funereal bed, eternal habitation![s] There remains for me but one hope: thou wilt serve me as a passage to rejoin my family, that disastrous family, of which I perish the last and the most wretched.[t] Again shall I behold

[q] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 932. [r] Id. ibid. v. 891. [s] Id. ibid. v. 903. [t] Id. ibid. v. 907.

the authors of my being; and they shall again behold me with pleasure. And thou, Polynices, O my brother! thou shalt know that, to perform towards thee the duties prescribed by nature and religion, I have sacrificed my youth, my life, my nuptials, and whatever was dearest to me in the world. Alas! all abandon me at this calamitous moment. The Thebans insult my sorrows.[w] I have not a friend from whom I can obtain a tear.[x] I hear Death, who calls me, and the gods are silent.[y] What are my crimes? If my piety was a crime, I ought to expiate it by my death. If my enemies are guilty, I wish them no more dreadful punishments than those I suffer."[z]

The prize is not to be adjudged till after the representation of all the pieces. That of Sophocles was followed by some others, to which I had no longer the power to listen. I had no more tears to shed, no more attention to bestow.

In this chapter I have copied the very words of my journal. I shall describe elsewhere every thing relative to the dramatic art, and the other spectacles which give such splendour to the Dionysiac festivals.

[w] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 850. [x] Id. ibid. v. 894. [y] Id. ibid. v. 945. [z] Id. ibid. v. 940.

CHAPTER XII.

Description of Athens.

THERE is not a city in Greece which presents so vast a number of public buildings and monuments as Athens. Edifices venerable for their antiquity, or admirable for their elegance, raise their majestic heads on all sides. Masterpieces of sculpture are extremely numerous even in the public places, and concur with the finest productions of the pencil to embellish the porticoes and temples. Here every thing is animate, every thing speaks to the eyes of the attentive spectator. The history of the monuments of this people would form the history of their warlike achievements, their gratitude, and religious worship.

It is neither my intention minutely to describe them, nor do I pretend to communicate to the minds of my readers the impressions made on mine by these beautiful works of art. It is a source of the highest pleasure to a traveller, to have enjoyed a number of pleasing and lively emotions, the remembrance of which is perpetually recurring during the course of his whole life; but it is impossible for him to participate them with those who, never having experienced the same sensations, are always more interested in the recital of his sufferings than in the

narrative of his pleasures. I shall imitate those guides who show to strangers the curiosities of Olympia and Delphi. I shall conduct my reader into the different quarters of Athens; the point of time shall be the latter years of my residence in Greece, and we will begin by landing at the Piræus.*

This harbour, which contains three lesser ones,[a] lies to the west of those of Munychia and Phalerum, which are now almost totally deserted. Not less than three hundred galleys have sometimes been collected here at once,[b] and it is sufficiently capacious to contain four hundred.† It was first discovered, if I may so speak, by Themistocles, when he conceived the design of giving a navy to the Athenians.[d] Markets and magazines were presently erected, and an arsenal capable of furnishing every thing necessary for the equipment of a great number of vessels.

Before we set foot on shore, let us cast our eyes on the neighbouring promontory. A square stone, without any ornaments, and resting on a simple base, forms the sepulchral monument of Themistocles, his body having been brought hither from the place of his exile.[e] Behold those vessels that are arriving, those that are preparing to depart, or are already under sail; observe those women and children running to

* See the plan of Athens, and note VI. at the end of the volume.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 93. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 3. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, première partie, p. 261. [b] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13.
† Spon and Wheler observe, that this port could hardly contain forty or forty-five of our ships. [c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395.
[d] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121. Nep. in Them. c. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 32. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. p. 3.

the shore to receive the first embraces, or the last farewell, of their husbands and their fathers; those clerks of the custom-house hurrying to open the bales which are just landed, and to affix their seals until they have paid the duty of a fiftieth;[f] those magistrates, those inspectors, who are all in motion; some to fix the price of the corn and flour;[g] some to give orders for the conveyance of two-thirds of it to Athens;[h] and others employed in preventing frauds, and maintaining order.[i]

Let us step under one of these porticoes which surround the harbour.[k] Here a number of merchants, who are on the point of embarking for the Euxine or for Sicily, are borrowing at heavy interest the money they are in want of, and drawing up the contract which contains the conditions of the bargain.[l] One is making his declaration before witnesses, that the merchandise he has put on board shall, in case of shipwreck, be at the risk of the lenders.[m] Further on, you see, exposed on tables, different sorts of merchandise from the Bosphorus,[n] and samples of corn recently imported from Pontus, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, Lybia, and Sicily.[o] Let us repair to the square of Hippodamus, so called from the builder, an architect of

[f] Demosth. in Lacrit. page 952. Æneas, Poliorc. cap. 29. [g] Harpocr. et Suid. in Σιτοφύλ. [h] Dinarch. et Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπιμελ. Etym. Magn. ibid. [i] Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀγορανομ. [k] Meurs. in Pir. c. 4. [l] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 949. Theophr. Charact. c. 23. [m] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 944. [n] Harpocr. in Δεῖγμ. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. c. 2. § 2. [o] Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. c. 4.

Miletus.[oo] Here the productions of all countries are accumulated: this is not the market of Athens, but of all Greece.[q]

The Piræus is decorated with a theatre, several temples, and a great number of statues.[q] As the existence of Athens depends on the safety of this harbour, Themistocles secured it against a sudden attack, by building that noble wall, which includes both the town of the Piræus and the harbour of Munychia. This wall is sixty stadia[r] in length, and forty cubits high.* Themistocles wished to raise it to the height of eighy cubits.[s] Its thickness is greater than the space occupied by two waggons. It was built of huge square stones fastened together on the outside by iron and leaden cramps.

We will now take the road to Athens, and follow this long wall, which extends from the Piræus to the gates of the city, a distance of forty stadia.[t] It was Themistocles likewise who planned this wall,[u] which was completed under the administration of Cimon and Pericles.[x] Some years after they built a similar one

[oo] Meurs. in Pir. cap. 5. [p] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 38. Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 139. Sopatr. de Div. Quest. ap. Rhet. Græc. t. i. p. 305. [q] Meurs. ibid. [r] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. * The length was 5670 toises, and consequently two French leagues of 2500 toises, and 670 toises, or about a quarter of a league, more (somewhat above 6½ miles English.) Its height being 40 cubits, or 60 Grecian feet, was 56 2-3ds French feet (60 1-3d feet Eng.) [s] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 93. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. c. 190. p. 325. [t] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Laërt. in Antisth. lib. 6. § 2. [u] Plut. in Them. t. i. p. 121. [x] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 107 et 108. Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

though not quite so long, from the walls of the city to the port of Phalerum.[y] This wall is on our right. The foundations of both were laid in marshy ground, which was filled up with huge pieces of rock.[z] By these two walls of communication, now called the Long Walls, the Piræus is enclosed within the precincts of Athens, of which it forms the rampart. After the taking of the city, they were wholly or in part demolished;[a] but at present they are almost completely restored.[b]

The road we are following is frequented at all times, and at all hours of the day, by a great number of people, attracted by the proximity of the Piræus, its festivals and commerce.

But let us view the cenotaph before us. This was erected by the Athenians, in memory of Euripides, who died in Macedonia.[c] Let us read the first words of the inscription: THE GLORY OF EURIPIDES HAS ALL GREECE FOR A MONUMENT.[d] Do you see that concourse of spectators near the city gate, the litters stopping there,[e] and that man upon a scaffold surrounded by workmen? That is Praxiteles. He is going to fix upon a base, that serves by way of tomb, a grand equestrian statue which he had just finished.[f]

We are now in the city, and close to an edifice

[y] Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. [z] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487. [a] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 226. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 441. [b] Xen. ibid. lib. 4. p. 537. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 303. Nepos in Timoth. c. 4. Id. in Conon. c. 4. [c] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 6. [d] Anthol. lib. 3. p. 273. Thom. Mag. in Vit. Eurip. [e] Dinarch. Orat. adv. Demosth. in Oper. Demosth. p. 177. [f] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 6.

called Pompeion;[g] whence it is that those *pomps*, or processions of young men and damsels, set out, who occasionally display themselves at the festivals celebrated by the other nations. In an adjoining temple dedicated to Ceres, are admirable statues of that goddess, Proserpine, and young Iacchus; all three by the hand of Praxiteles.[h]

Let us take a rapid view of those porticoes that extend along the street, and which are wonderfully numerous in the city. Some stand detached; others are contiguous to buildings to which they serve as vestibules. Philosophers and idle people spend part of the day here. In almost all of them you see paintings and statues of exquisite workmanship. In that where they sell flour,[i] you will find a picture of Helen, painted by Zeuxis.[k]

Let us take this street on our left; it will lead us to the quarter of the Pnyx, and bring us near to the place where the people hold some of their assemblies.[l] This quarter, which is very populous, is contiguous to that of the Ceramicus, or pottery-grounds, so called from the earthen-ware formerly fabricated there.[m] This extensive space is divided into two parts: one without the walls, where the Academy is situated; the other within, in which is the grand square, or forum.

We will stop a moment at the royal portico, which

[g] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 6. [h] Id. ibid. [i] Hesych. in Αλφίτ. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 682. [k] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 11. p. 868. lin. 37. [l] Meurs. de Popul. Athen. in voce Pnyx. [m] Plin. lib. 35. c. 12. p. 710. Suid. in Κεραμ. Meurs. Ceram.

merits our attention in several points of view. The second of the archons, styled the king-archon, holds his tribunal here:[n] here too the Areopagus sometimes assembles.[o] The statues on the roof are of earthenware, and represent Theseus precipitating Scyron into the sea, and Aurora carrying off Cephalus.[p] That figure in bronze which you see at the gate, is Pindar. He is represented crowned with a diadem, with a book on his knees, and a lyre in his hand.[q] Thebes, his native country, offended at the eulogium he had bestowed on the Athenians, having been mean enough to condemn him to a pecuniary fine, Athens decreed him this monument, less perhaps from esteem for the poet, than from hatred of the Thebans. Not far from the statue of Pindar are those of Conon, of his son Timotheus, and of Evagoras king of Cyprus.[r]

Near the royal portico is that of Jupiter Liberator,[s] where Euphranor, the painter, has lately represented, in a series of pictures, the twelve gods, Theseus, the people of Athens, and that engagement of the cavalry in which Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, attacked the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas.[t] They are easily to be distinguished from each other, and the painter has expressed, with all the fire of genius, the courage and ardour with which both were animated.[u] The Apollo of the adjoining temple is by the same hand.[x]

[n] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8. [o] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 831. [p] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8. [q] Æschin. Epist. 4. p. 207. [r] Isocr. in Evagor. t. ii. p. 98. Demosth. in Leptin. p, 551. Pausan. ibid. [s] Meurs. in Ceram. c. 4. [t] Pausan. ibid. p. 9. [u] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346. [x] Pausan. ibid.

From the royal portico two streets branch out, and terminate in the forum. Let us take that on the right. It is decorated, as you see, by a number of Hermæ, the name given to those heads of Mercury supported by pedestals in the form of a sheath. Some of these have been erected by private individuals; others, by order of the magistrates.[y] Almost all of them record glorious achievements. On some are inscribed lessons of wisdom. For the latter Athens is indebted to Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus. He had versified the most sublime precepts of morality, and caused them to be engraved on a number of Hermæ erected by his orders in the squares, cross-ways, many of the streets of Athens, and in the towns of Attica. On one, for example, was inscribed, ALWAYS TAKE JUSTICE FOR YOUR GUIDE: on another, NEVER VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF FRIENDSHIP.[z] These maxims, no doubt, have contributed to render the language of the inhabitants of the country places so sententious as we find it.[a]

This street is terminated by two porticoes that front the forum. The one is that of the Hermæ;[b] the other, and most handsome of the two, is called the Pœcile. In the former are three statues of Hermes, on which, after any advantages gained over the Medes, they formerly inscribed the eulogium decreed by the people, not to the generals, but to the

[y] Harpocr. in Ἑρμ. [z] Plat. in Hipp. t ii p. 229. Hesych. in Ἱπαρχ. Suid. in Ἑρμ. [a] Aristot. de Rhetor. t. ii. p. 572. [b] Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. p. 402.

soldiers, who had conquered under their command.[c] At the gate of the Pœcile is the statue of Solon.[d] The walls within are covered with bucklers, taken from the Lacedæmonians, and other nations;[e] and enriched with the works of Polygnotus, Micon, Panænus, and other celebrated painters. In these pictures, the beauty of which it is easier to feel than to describe, we view the taking of Troy, the succours given by the Athenians to the Heraclidæ, the battles they fought with the Lacedæmonions at Oenoë, with the Persians at Marathon, and with the Amazons in Athens itself.[f]

The forum, which is extremely spacious, is decorated with buildings destined to the worship of the gods, or the service of the state; others that sometimes afford an asylum to the wretched, but which are too often a shelter for the wicked; and statues decreed to kings and individuals who have merited well of the republic.[g]

Follow me, and under the shade of the plane-trees that embellish these places,[h] let us take a turn along one side of the square. This spacious enclosure contains a temple in honour of the mother of the gods, and the palace in which the senate assembles.[i] In these edifices, and all around them, are placed cippi and columns, on which are engraven several of the

[c] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 458. [d] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 847. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 38. Ælian. lib. 8. cap. 16. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 15. [f] Meurs. Athen. Att. lib. 1. c. 5. [g] Id. Ceram. c. 16. [h] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487. [i] Plut. in X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητραγ.

laws of Solon, and the decrees of the people.[k] To that rotunda, surrounded by trees,[l] the prytanes, in rotation of duty, go every day to dine, and sometimes to offer up sacrifices for the prosperity of the people.[m]

In the middle of ten statues, which give their names to the tribes of Athens,[n] the first archon holds his tribunal.[o] Here the eyes of the enchanted spectator every moment meet the works of genius. In the temple of the mother of the gods you have seen a statue of the goddess, executed by Phidias;[p] in the temple of Mars, before us, you will find that of the god, the workmanship of Alcamenes, a pupil worthy of Phidias.[q]

Similar monuments are to be met with on every side of the forum. There is the camp of the Scythians, who are paid by the republic to maintain order.[r] There is the place in which the people sometimes assemble; but it is now covered with tents, in which different kinds of wares are exposed to sale.[s] Farther on you see a crowd, which it is almost impossible to pass through. There are sold the provisions necessary for the subsistence of so numerous a people. It is the grand market, divided into several particular ones, frequented at all hours of the day, and especially

[k] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 165. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 458. Harpocr. in ὁ Κάθωνες. [l] Suid. et Hesych. in Σκιάς. [m] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 332. Ulp. ibid. p. 388. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 12. Meurs. Ceram. c. 7. [n] Pausan. ibid. [o] Suid. in Ἄρκων. [p] Pausan. ibid. c. 3. p. 9. [q] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 20. [r] Meurs. Ceram c. 16. [s] Demosth. in Lor. p. 501. Id. in Neær. p. 875. Taylor, Not. in Demosth. p. 620. Harpocr. in Γέφυρα.

from nine o'clock till noon. Collectors attend there to receive the duties laid on every thing that is sold, and magistrates to superintend what is passing. I shall mention to you two very wise laws, for the regulation of this untractable and tumultuous populace. The one prohibits any man from reproaching the lowest citizen with living by the profit of his traffic in the market,[t] the government wishing to prevent a useful profession from being treated as an object of contempt. The other forbids any person to employ falsehood for the purpose of exaction.[u] Vanity has maintained the former of these, but interest has rendered the latter of no effect. As the forum is the most frequented part of the city, workmen of all kinds endeavour to reside near it,[x] and houses let there at a higher price than elsewhere.

I am now about to conduct you to the temple of Theseus, built by Cimon, some years after the battle of Salamis. Though smaller than that of Minerva, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak, and which appears to have been built after the same model,[y] it is, like that, of the Doric order, and of a very elegant architecture. Skilful painters have enriched it with their immortal labours.[z]

After passing by the temple of Castor and Pollux, by that of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops, and the Prytaneum, where some citizens who have rendered

[t] Demosth. in Eubul. p. 886. [u] Id. in Lept. p. 542. Ulpian. ibid. p. 570. Hyperid. ap. Harpocr. in κατα τηv, &c. [x] Lys. adv. Delat. p. 413. [y] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. i. p. 18. [z] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 40.

signal services to the state are maintained at the expense of the republic,[a] we are now arrived at the street of the tripods,[b] which should be rather named the street of triumphs; for here it is, in fact, that the glory of the victors in those contests that embellish our festivals is, if I may so speak, annually deposited. I mean those trials of skill which take place between musicians or dancers of different ages, each tribe naming its own candidates. That which has gained the victory dedicates a tripod of brass sometimes in a temple, sometimes in a house they have built in this street.[c] You see those numerous offerings on the roofs, or in the inside, of the elegant buildings we have on each side of us.[d] They are accompanied with inscriptions, which, according to circumstances, contain the name of the chief archon of the tribe that had been victorious; of the citizen who, under the denomination of choragus, had the regulation of the performers; of the poet who composed the verses; of the master who had the direction of the chorus; and of the musician who accompanied the songs with his flute.[e] Let us approach. Behold the vanquishers of the Persians here celebrated for having appeared at the head of choruses! Read under that tripod: THE TRIBE ANTIOCHIS GAINED THE PRIZE; ARISTIDES WAS CHORAGEUS; ARCHESTRATUS COMPOSED THE

[a] Meurs. de Ath. Att. lib. 1. c. 7 et 8. [b] Athen. lib 12. p. 542 et 543. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20 p. 46. [c] Chandler, Inscript. part 2. p. 48. [d] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 46. [e] Vandal. Dissert. de Gymnas. c. 5. p. 672. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99.

THE PIECE.[f] Under that other: THEMISTOCLES WAS CHORAGEUS; PHRYNICUS WROTE THE TRAGEDY; ADIMANTUS WAS ARCHON.[g]*

The works of architecture and sculpture which surround us, astonish as much by the excellence of the workmanship, as by the motives that produced them; but all their beauties vanish before the satyr you are about to see in that edifice,[h] esteemed by Praxiteles one of the finest of his productions, and ranked by the public among the master-pieces of art.

The street of the tripods leads to the theatre of Bacchus. It was but fitting that the trophies should be erected near the field of battle; for it is at the theatre that the choruses of the respective tribes usually dispute the palm.[i] There also it is that the people sometimes assemble, either to deliberate on affairs of state, or to be present at the representation of tragedies and comedies. At Marathon, at Salamis, and Platæa, the Athenians triumphed only over the Persians; here they have triumphed over all the nations now existing, perhaps over all that are yet to be born; and the names of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, shall not be less celebrated in future ages, than those of Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles.

Opposite to the theatre is one of the most ancient temples of Athens;[k] that of Bacchus, surnamed the

[f] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 318. [g] Id. in Them. t. i. p. 114. * See note VII. at the end of the volume. [h] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 46. Plin. lib. 34. c. 8. p. 653. Athen. lib. 13. p. 591. [i] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612. [k] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 46.

god of the wine-press. It is situate in the quarter of the marshes,[l] and is opened only once a year.[m] In the wide space in which it stands, public spectacles were formerly exhibited on certain festivals, before the theatre was built.[n]

At length we are arrived at the foot of the stairs that lead up to the citadel.[o] Observe how the prospect extends and becomes more beautiful on all sides as you ascend. Cast your eyes to the left, on that cavern, hollowed out of the rock, consecrated to Pan, near to that fountain.[p] There Apollo received the favours of Creusa, daughter of king Erechtheus, and there he receives at this day the homage of the Athenians, ever attentive to sanctify the foibles of their divinities.

Let us stop for a while before that superb edifice of the Doric order, which now presents itself to view. This is called the Propylæa, or vestibules of the citadel. Pericles had them built of marble, after the designs and under the inspection of the architect Mnesicles.[q] They were begun under the archonship of Euthymenes,* but not completed till five years after; and are said to have cost two thousand and twelve talents,† an exorbitant sum, exceeding the whole annual revenue of the republic.

[l] Athen. lib. 11. c. 3. p. 465. Isæus ap. Harpocr. Ἐκ Λίμν. Hesych. in Λίμν. [m] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 15. [n] Hesych. in Ἐπὶ Λῆν. [o] Athenian coins in the cabinet of the king of France. [p] Eurip. in Iön. v. 17. 501. 936. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 68. Lucian. in his Accus. t. ii. p. 801. [q] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

* The year 437 before Christ. † 10, 864, 800 livres (452, 700*l.*)

[r] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Προπύλ.

The temple we have on our left is dedicated to Victory. Let us step into the buildings on the right, to admire the paintings which adorn its walls, and are principally the work of Polygnotus.[s] Let us return to the centre of the building, examine the six beautiful columns which support the pediment, the walk through the vestibule divided into three parts by a double row of Iönic pillars, terminated on the opposite side by five doors, through which we distinguish the columns of the peristyle that looks towards the inside of the citadel.[t]* Observe, in passing, those large blocks of marble which compose the ceiling, and sustain the roof.

We are now in the citadel.[u] Observe the immense number of statues which gratitude and religion have erected here, and on which the chisels of Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and other artists of renown, seem to have bestowed animation. Here Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals, will live for ever. Their noble statues are intermingled, without distinction, with those of the gods.[x]

This kind of apotheosis made a forcible impression on me on my first arrival in Greece. I thought I beheld in every city two classes of citizens: those who at their deaths were consigned to oblivion, and those on whom the arts bestow an eternal existence

[s] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 51. [t] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 2. p. 13 et 47. Pausan. ibid. * See the plan and elevation of the Propylæa; and note VIII. of Vol. I. [u] Meurs. in Cecrop. [x] Pausan. lib. 1. passim.

The one I considered as the children of men, the second as the sons of glory. But at length, from seeing so great a number of statues, I have no longer been able to distinguish the two classes.

Let us approach these two altars. Revere the first; it is the altar of Modesty: affectionately embrace the second; it is that of Friendship.[y] Read on that column of bronze a decree which proscribes and devotes to opprobrium a citizen and his posterity, for receiving Persian gold to corrupt the Greeks.[z] Thus are evil actions immortalized to produce good ones, and good to stimulate to still better. Lift up your eyes and admire the work of Phidias. Yonder is the colossal statue of bronze which the Athenians dedicated to Minerva, after the battle of Marathon.[a]

All the districts of Attica are under the protection of this goddess,[b] but it should appear that she has fixed her residence in the citadel. What innumerable statues, altars, and edifices in her honour! Among these statues there are three, the materials and workmanship of which exhibit the progress of luxury and the arts. The first is so antique, that it is said to have fallen from heaven:[c] it is shapeless, and of olive wood. The second, which I have just shown you, is the work of an age, when, from among all the various kinds of metals, the Athenians only made use of iron to obtain success, and brass to eternize it.

[y] Hesych. in Αἰδες. [z] Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 91. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 336. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 114. [a] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 336. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 67. [b] Pausan. ibid. c. 26. p. 63. [c] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 63.

The third, which we shall see presently, was sculptured by order of Pericles, and is of gold and ivory.[d]

Here we meet with a temple consisting of two chapels, one dedicated to Minerva Polias, the other to Neptune Erechtheus. Remark the manner in which fabulous traditions may sometimes be reconciled with historical facts. You are here shown, on one side, the olive-tree which sprang out of the earth at the command of the goddess, and which has so greatly multiplied in Attica; and on the other, the well, whence they pretend that Neptune caused the water of the sea to gush out.[f] By such bounties was it that these divinities aspired to the honour of bestowing their names on this rising city. The gods decided in favour of Minerva; and the Athenians for ages preferred agricuture to commerce.[g] Since they have combined these two sources of wealth, they divide their homage in the same hallowed place between both their benefactors; and to complete the conciliation, have erected one common altar, which they call the altar of oblivion.[h]

Before the statue of the goddess is suspended a golden lamp, above which is the figure of a palm-tree, of the same metal, that reaches to the ceiling. The lamp burns night and day,[i] and the oil is renewed but once a year. The wick, which is made of amianthus,[k]

[d] Schol. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Androt. p. 440. [e] Meurs. Cecrop. c. 20. [f] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 55. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62. Meurs. Cecrop. cap. 19. [g] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121. [h] Plut. Sympos. lib. 9. quæst. 6. t. ii. p. 741. [i] Paus. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 63. Strab. lib. 9. p. 606. [k] Salmas. in Solin. t. i. p. 178.

is never consumed, and the smoke escapes by a tunnel concealed under the foliage of the palm. This lamp is the work of Callimachus, and so highly finished as to incline those who view it to wish that it had more of graceful negligence; but this was the general fault of that too careful artist. He lost sight of perfection by striving to attain it; and by being dissatisfied with himself, failed to give satisfaction to persons of real taste.[1]

In this part of the temple was preserved the rich cimeter of Mardonius, who commanded the Persian army at the battle of Platæa; and the cuirass of Masistius, who fought at the head of the cavalry.[m] In the vestibule of the Parthenon was likewise to be seen the throne, with silver feet, on which Xerxes placed himself to be a spectator of the sea-fight at Salamis;[n] and in the sacred treasury were preserved the remains of the spoils found in the camp of the Persians.[o] These spoils, the greatest part of which have been carried off in our time by sacrilegious hands, were trophies that furnished a subject of pride to the Athenians of the present day, as if they had acquired them by their own valour; like those families who, having formerly produced great men, endeavour to make us forget what they now are, by the memory of what they have been.

[1] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 658. Pausan. ibid. [m] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 793. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 45. Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 2. cap. 13. Pausan. ibid. cap. 27. p. 64. [n] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 793. Harpocr. in Ἀρχυρόπ. [o] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13.

That other building, called Opisthodomos, is the public treasury.[p] It is surrounded by a double wall. Treasurers, chosen annually by lot, deposit there the sums placed by the senate in their hands;[q] and the chief of the prytanes, who is changed every day, is entrusted with the key.[r]

Your eyes have long been turning towards that famous temple of Minerva, one of the noblest ornaments of Athens, which is known by the name of the Parthenon. Before you enter it, permit me to read you a letter I wrote, on my return from Persia, to Othanes, one of the magi, with whom I lived in the closest intimacy during my residence at Suza. He was acquainted with the history of Greece, and wished to inform himself of the customs of different nations. As he had requested from me some explanations respecting the Grecian temples, the following was the letter I wrote to him:

"You assert that we ought not to represent the Deity under a human form, nor circumscribe his presence within the limits of a structure built by men.[s] But you would not have advised Cambyses, when in Egypt, to insult the objects of religious worship,[t] nor Xerxes to destroy the temples and statues of Greece.[u] These princes, superstitious even to extravagance,

[p] Meurs. Cecrop. c. 26. [q] Arist. ap Harpocr. in Ταμ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 97. [r] Argum. Orat. Demosthen. Androt. p. 697. Suid. in Ἐπιστάτ. [s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 131. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 10. t. iii. p. 145 [t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 25, 29, &c. [u] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 811. Herodot. lib. 8. c. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 332.

knew not that a nation pardons violence more readily than contempt, and deems itself debased whenever what it holds in reverence is despised and profaned. Greece has forbidden the restoration of the sacred monuments overthrown by the Persians.[x] These await the moment of vengeance; and should the Greeks ever carry their victorious arms into the dominions of the Great King, they will remember Xerxes, and reduce your cities to ashes.[y]

"The Greeks borrowed the idea[z] and the form of their temples from the Egyptians; but the proportions of the architecture[a] which they have employed in these edifices are more elegant, or such at least as are more conformable to their taste.

"I shall not undertake to give you a minute description of their different parts, but send you the plan of that erected in honour of Theseus.* Four walls, disposed in form of a parallelogram or oblong square, constitute the nave or body of the building. Its principal decoration and chief merit is exterior, and is as distinct from it as the dresses that distinguish the various classes of citizens. This consists in a portico that runs round the building, and of which the columns, founded on a base composed of several steps, support an entablature crowned by a pediment at the anterior

[x] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 203. Lycurg. cont. Leocr. part. 2. p. 158. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887. Diod. lib. 11. p. 24.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 545. Strab. lib. 15. p. 730. Quint. Curt. lib. 5. cap. 7. [z] Herodot. lib. 2 c. 4. [a] Voyage de Norden, pl. 132. Pococke, t. i. pl. 44, 45, &c. Mosaiq. de Palestr. in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 503. * See the plan, elevation, and view of the temple of Theseus.

and posterior extremities. This portico gives equal grace and majesty to the edifice, and contributes to the splendour of the ceremonies, by the great number of spectators which it can contain, and shelter from the weather.[b]

"In the vestibule are vases of lustral water,[c] and altars on which the sacrifices are usually offered.[d] From hence, as we enter the temple, the statue of the divinity, and votive offerings dedicated by the piety of the people, are seen. It has no light but what it receives from the entrance."*

"The plan you have before you may be varied according to the rules of art and the taste of the artist. As, for instance, in the dimensions. The temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, is two hundred and thirty feet long, ninety-five broad, and sixty-eight in height.[f] That of Jupiter, at Agrigentum, in Sicily,[g] is three hundred and forty feet long, one hundred and sixty wide, and one hundred and twenty high.†

[b] Vitruv. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 42. [c] Casaub. in Theophr. c. 16. p. 126. Duport. ibid. p. 456. [d] Euripid. Iphig. in Taur. v. 72. Poll. lib. 1. c. 1. § 6, &c. * See note VIII. at the end of the volume. [e] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 89. [f] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 398. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 203. † Length of the temple of Olympia, 217 French feet, 2 inches, 8 lines, (232 feet 9 inches English); its breadth, 89 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines, (95 feet English); its height, 64 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines, (68 feet, 7 inches, English). Length of the temple of Agrigentum, 321 feet 1 inch, 4 lines, (343 feet English); its breadth, 151 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines, (161 feet, 4 inches, English); its height, 113 feet, 4 lines, (120 feet, 8 inches, English). Winkelmann (Recueil de ses Lettres, t. i. p. 282) presumes, with reason, that the breadth of this temple was 160 Grecian feet, instead of 60, as the text of Diodorus, as we now have it, imports.

" It admits also of variety in the number of columns. Sometimes we find two, four, six, eight, and even as many as ten, in the two fronts; sometimes they are placed only at the anterior front. In some temples a double portico is formed round the whole building by two rows of columns.

" Variety is also admitted in the ornaments and proportions of the columns and entablature, and here the genius of the Greeks shines forth. After various experiments, having combined their ideas and discoveries into a system, they composed two species or orders of architecture, each possessing a distinctive character and peculiar beauties; the one more ancient, more masculine, and more substantial, called the Doric; the other, more light and elegant, distinguished by the name of the Iönic. I shall say nothing of the Corinthian, as it does not essentially differ from the two others.[h]

In fine, a variety may also have place in the interior parts of these structures. Some contain a sanctuary not to be entered by the profane:[i] others are divided into several compartments. Some there are in which, besides the principal gate of entrance, there is a second at the opposite extremity, or one, the roof of which is supported by one or two ranges of columns.*

" The better to enable you to judge of the form

[h] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, p. 15. de l'Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Architect. [i] Valer. Max. lib. 1. c. 6. § 12. Poll. lib. 1. c. 1. § 8. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. lib. 3. c. 105. * See note IX. at the end of the volume.

of the temples of Greece, I shall annex two drawings to my letter, in which you will find represented the front and general view of the Parthenon, at the citadel of Athens.* I shall likewise send you the work composed by Ictinus on this beautiful structure.[11] Ictinus was one of the two architects employed by Pericles in the building of this temple; the name of the other was Callicrates.[k]

"From whatever quarter the traveller arrives, whether by sea or land, he views it rearing up its lofty head above the city and the citadel.[l] It is of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble found in the quarries of Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica. It is one hundred feet wide, about two hundred and twenty-six broad, and about sixty-nine in height.† The portico is double at the two fronts, and single on each side. Along the exterior face of the nave runs a frieze or architrave, on which is represented a procession in honour of Minerva.[m] These basso-relievos have added greatly to the fame of the artists by whom they were executed.

"Within this temple is that statue so celebrated for its size, the richness of its materials, and the exquisite beauty of the workmanship. By the sublime majesty that irradiates the features and the whole figure of Minerva, we easily recognize the hand of

* See the plan, elevation, and view of the Parthenon. [11] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 125. [k] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 159. Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Pausan. c. 41. p. 685. [l] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 1. p. 8. † See note X. at the end of the volume. [m] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 51.

Phidias. The ideas of this artist were so sublime, that he has succeeded better, if possible, in the representation of the gods, than in that of mortals.[n] We are almost tempted to say that he had viewed the latter from too great a height, but the former on a near approach.

"This figure is twenty-six cubits high. The goddess is erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic,[o] holding in one hand a lance, in the other a Victory near four cubits high.* Her helmet, on which is a sphynx, is ornamented on each side with two griffins. On the outside of the shield, which lies at the feet of the goddess, Phidias has represented the battle of the Amazons; on the inside, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buskins, that of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and on the pedestal, the birth of Pandora, and a variety of other subjects. The visible parts of the body are of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which is imitated by a particular kind of stone.[p] This able artist has exhibited a wonderful degree of taste in the execution of his work, and proved that his genius still retained its superiority even in the most minute details.[q]

"Before he began this statue, he was obliged to give an account, to the assembly of the people, of the

[n] Quintil. lib. 12. c. 10. p. 744. [o] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 57 et 58. Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 726. Max. Tyr. diss. 14. p. 156. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 208. * The cubit among the Greeks being one of their feet and a half, the height of the figure was 36 of our feet and 10 inches (39 feet 4 inches); and that of the Victory, 5 feet 8 inches (6 feet English). [q] Plat. in. Hipp. t. iii. p. 290. Plin. lib. 37. p. 787 et 788. [q] Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 726.

materials which he intended to employ. He gave the preference to marble, because its splendour subsists longest. Thus far he was listened to with attention; but when he added that it was the cheapest, he was commanded to say no more, and it was determined that the statue should be formed of gold and ivory.[r]

" For this purpose the purest gold was selected, and it was necessary to provide a quantity of the weight of forty talents.*[s] Phidias, by the suggestions of Pericles, applied this in such a way as easily to admit of being taken off. Two motives induced Pericles to give this advice. He foresaw that a time might come when it should be necessary to employ this gold for the urgent necessities of the state, a measure which he in fact proposed at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.[t] He foresaw likewise that himself as well as Phidias might hereafter be accused of having applied part of it to other purposes, and of this they afterwards really were accused; but by the precautions they had used, the slanderous charge only redounded to the dishonour of their enemies.†

" Phidias was reproached likewise with having sculptured his own portrait, with that of his patron, on the shield of Minerva. He had there represented

[r] Val. Max. lib. 1. c. 1. § 7. * The proportion of the value of gold to silver was then as thirteen to one: these forty talents, therefore, were worth about three millions of livres (125,000*l.* sterling). See note XI. at the end of the volume, on the quantity of gold employed to ornament this statue. [s] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. [t] Id. ibid. [u] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 169. † See note XII. at the end of the volume.

himself in the character of an old man in the act of throwing a huge stone; and it is pretended that, by an ingenious piece of mechanism, this figure was so connected with the whole as to make it impossible to remove it, without disuniting and totally destroying the statue.[x] Pericles appears fighting with an Amazon. His arm extended, and holding a javelin, hides from the spectator one half of his countenance. The object of the artist in this partial concealment is only to engage the attention of curiosity.

"To this temple is annexed a treasury, in which individuals deposit such sums of money as they choose not to keep at home. There, likewise, are preserved the offerings made to the goddess, which consist of crowns, vases, and little figures of the divinities, of gold or silver. The Athenian women likewise frequently make offerings in this temple of their rings, bracelets, and necklaces. These are entrusted to the treasurers of the goddess, who have them under their care during the year they remain in office; on the expiration of which time they deliver to their successors a list specifying the weight of each article, and the name of the donor. The inventory, which is immediately cut in marble,[y] is a testimonial of the fidelity of the keepers, and an incentive to private liberality.

"This temple, that of Theseus, and some others, constitute the triumph of architecture and sculpture. Were I to expatiate at large on the beauties of the

[x] De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 613. Cicer. Orat. c. 71. t. i. p. 481. Id. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 15. t. ii. p. 245. [y] Chandl. Inscript. in notis, part 2. p. xv. Poll. lib. 10. c. 28. § 126.

whole, and on the elegance of the minuter parts, I could add nothing to this eulogium. Be not amazed at the prodigious number of edifices erected in honour of the gods. As manners become more depraved, laws have been proportionally multiplied to prevent crimes, and altars to expiate them become more numerous: besides that such monuments embellish a city, encourage the arts, and are in general constructed at the expense of the enemy; for a portion of the spoils taken in war is always destined to maintain the magnificence of religious worship."

Such was the answer I wrote to Othanes, the magus. At present, without going out of the citadel, we will take different positions, that will successively display the whole city to our view.

Of late years, it has extended towards the south-west, commerce daily attracting the inhabitants to the vicinity of the Piræus. On that side, and to the west, we see, in the environs of the citadel, at different intervals, rocks and eminences,[1] covered in general with houses. On our right we have the rising ground on which stands the Areopagus, on the left that of the Museum, and towards the centre that of the Pnyx, where, as I have said, the general assembly is sometimes held. We here may observe to what a height the two parties that divide Athens carry their mutual jealousy. As from the top of this hill the Piræus may be distinctly seen, there was a time when the orators, turning their eyes towards the harbour, used every art to induce the people to sacrifice every other

[1] Whel. Journ. book 5. p. 338. Spon. Chandl. &c.

object to their navy. The partisans of the aristocracy, deeply offended at this, alleged that the first legislators had only favoured agriculture, and that Themistocles, by uniting the city to the Piræus, and thus connecting the sea and land, had increased the number of the sailors, and the power of the multitude. Accordingly, after the taking of Athens, the first measure adopted by the thirty tyrants appointed by Lysander, was to turn the rostrum from which the orators harangued the people toward the land, whereas it before had always fronted the sea.[a]

I have not taken notice of several edifices situate on the sides and in the environs of the citadel. Such, among others, are the Odeum and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The former is a kind of theatre built by Pericles for musical competitions.[b] In it the six junior archons sometimes hold their meetings.[c] The roof, which is supported by columns, is built with the fragments of ships of the Persian fleet defeated at Salamis.[d] The temple of Jupiter Olympius was begun by Pisistratus, and would, it is said, had it been finished,[e] have been the most magnificent of temples.

Your progress had been often interrupted, and your eyes have been frequently astonished and delighted, in the road we have pursued from the Piræus to the place in which we now are. There are few streets, few squares in this city, in which you will not

[a] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121. [b] Meurs. in Ceram. c. 11. [c] Demosth. in Neær. p. 869. [d] Theophr. Charact. c. 3. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160. [e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 8. Meurs. Athen. Attic. c. 10.

meet with similar objects to excite and gratify curiosity. But do not rely wholly on appearances. The edifice, the most uninviting externally, sometimes contains a precious treasure within. Towards the north, in the quarter of Melita, see if you cannot discern some trees around a house that is scarcely distinguishable: that is the abode of Phocion.[f] On this other side, in the middle of those houses, in a little temple dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis representing the god of love crowned with roses;[g] lower down, near that eminence, stands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of those essays which discover a superior genius. Parrhasius, persuaded that it was within the reach of his art, either by the expression of the countenance, or by the attitude and air of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye,[h] undertook, in his portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters, of that violent, unjust, gentle, compassionate, vain-glorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people.[i] But how has he succeeded in this ingenious thought? I will not deprive you of the pleasure of the surprise; you shall judge for yourself.

I have hastily accompanied you through the city; you are now to view, at one comprehensive glance, the adjacent country. To the east is Mount Hymettus, which the bees enrich with their honey, and

[f] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. [g] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 991. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ἀνθέμ. [h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 781. [i] Plin. lib. 35. c. 10. t. ii. p. 693.

which invites you by the fragrancy of its thyme. The Illissus, that glides at the foot of it, meanders round our walls; above you see the gymnasia of the Cynosarges and the Lycæum, To the north-west you discover the Academy, and, a little farther, a hill named Colonos, on which Sophocles has laid the scene of his Œdipus Coloneus. The Cephisus, after enriching this district with the tribute of its waters, at length mingles them with those of the Illissus. Both these streams are occasionally dry during the great heats of summer. The prospect is embellished by handsome country-houses, which present themselves to the view on all sides.

I shall conclude by reminding you of what Lysippus says in one of his comedies: "Whoever does not desire to see Athens, is stupid; whoever sees it without being delighted, is still more stupid; but the height of stupidity, is to see it, to admire it, and to leave it."[k]

[k] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 10. Henr. Steph. Lucub. in Dicæarch. c. 3. In Thes. Antiq. Græc. t. xi.

CHAPTER XIII.

Battle of Mantinea.—Death of Epaminondas.*

GREECE was now on the eve of an important revolution; Epaminondas was at the head of an army; and on his victory or defeat finally depended the question, whether the Lacedæmonians or Thebans were to give law to the other states of Greece? The opportunity appeared favourable to him for hastening this decision.

He left Tegea, in Arcadia, as night came on, with the view of surprising Lacedæmon.[l] This city is entirely exposed, and had at that time none but children and old men for its defenders, part of the troops being then in Arcadia, and the remainder on their march thither under the command of Agesilaus. The Thebans arrived at break of day,[m] but found Agesilaus ready to receive them. Informed by a deserter of the march of Epaminondas, he had returned home with extraordinary celerity, and his soldiers already occupied the most important stations.

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the 12th of the month Scirophorion, corresponding with the 5th of July of the Julian proleptic year 362 before Christ. [l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3. § 10. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 392.

The Theban general, surprised without being discouraged, ordered several attacks. He had penetrated to the forum,[n] and made himself master of one part of the city, when Agesilaus, then near eighty years of age, listening only to the dictates of despair,[o] rushed into the midst of danger, and, seconded by the brave Archidamus his son, repulsed the enemy, and compelled them to retire.

On this occasion, Isadas performed an action that excited at once the admiration and the severe animadversion of the magistrates. This Spartan, scarcely out of his childhood, beautiful as the god of love himself, and valiant as Achilles, armed only with a lance and sword, rushed through the Lacedæmonian battalions, fell impetuously on the Thebans, and laid at his feet all who attempted to withstand his fury. The ephori decreed him a crown in honour of the courage he had displayed, but imposed on him a fine for having fought without either cuirass or buckler.[p]

Epaminondas was not molested in his retreat; but a victory was become necessary, that the failure of his enterprise might be forgotten. He therefore marched into Arcadia, where the principal forces of Greece were then united,[q] and the two armies soon came in sight of each other. That of the Lacedæmonians and their allies consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and near two thousand horse; the army of the Theban league, of thirty thousand infantry, and about three thousand cavalry.[r]

[n] Polyb. lib. 9. p. 547. [o] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615. [p] Id. ibid.
[q] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 647. [r] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 393.

Never did Epaminondas display greater military talents than on this occasion. In his order of battle he followed the same principles which had procured him the victory of Leuctra.[s] One of his wings, formed in a column, fell upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which probably would never have been broken, had he not hastened thither in person to animate his troops by his example, and to reinforce them by a chosen body of men. The enemy, dismayed at his appearance,[t] gave way, and took to flight; he pursued them with an ardour which he could no longer restrain, and found himself surrounded by a body of Spartans, who poured on him a shower of javelins. After long warding off death, and making a crowd of warriors bite the dust, he fell by a javelin, the point of which remained broken in his breast. The honour of carrying off his body brought on a renewal of the battle, as warm and bloody as the former attack; but his companions, redoubling their exertions, had at length the melancholy consolation of conveying the hero to his tent.

On the other wing, the fate of the battle long hung in suspense. By the prudent dispositions of Epaminondas, the Athenians had it not in their power to second the Lacedæmonians.[u] Their cavalry attacked that of the Thebans, was repulsed with loss, again rallied, and cut in pieces a detachment posted by the enemy upon the neighbouring heights. Their

[s] Folard. Traité de la Colon. c. 10. dans le ter vol. de la Trad. de la Polybe, p. lxi. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 395. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 646.

infantry was on the point of flying, when the Eleans hastened to their assistance.[x]

The wound of Epaminondas staid the carnage, and suspended the fury of the soldiers. Both armies, equally struck with astonishment, remained in inaction:[y] the retreat was sounded on both sides, and a trophy was erected on the field of battle.[z]

Epaminondas still breathed. His friends, his officers, were dissolved in tears around his bed; and the whole camp resounded with the cries of grief and despair. The physician had declared that he would expire the instant the iron should be extracted from his wound.[a] All his fears were lest his shield should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. It was shewn him, and he kissed it, as the instrument of his glory.[b] He seemed anxious concerning the fate of the battle. He was told that the Thebans were victorious. "It is well," replied he, "I have lived long enough."[c] He then ordered Daiphantus and Iollidas, generals whom he thought worthy to succeed him, to be sent for. He was informed that they were dead. "Advise the Thebans then," said he, "to conclude a peace."[d] He now ordered the point of the javelin to be drawn out; and one of his friends exclaiming, in the distraction of his grief: "You die, Epaminondas! had you but left any children!" "I leave," answered

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394. [y] Justin. lib. 6. c. 7. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396. [a] Id. ibid. [b] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. c. 30. t. ii. p. 135. Id. Epist. Famil. lib. 5. epist. 12. t. vii. p. 163. Justin. ibid. c. 8. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396. Nep. in Epam. c. 9. [d] Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.

he, expiring, "two immortal daughters—the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea."[e]

His death had been preceded by that of Timagenes, the kind and affectionate friend who had brought me into Greece. He had suddenly disappeared a week before the battle. A letter, left by him on the table of his niece Epicharis, informed us that he was gone to join Epaminondas, with whom he had preconcerted measures during his residence at Thebes, but that it was his intention speedily to return, never to leave us more. If the gods, added he, should otherwise ordain, remember all that Anacharsis has done for me, nor forget what you have promised to do for him.

My heart felt the severest pangs when I read this letter. I wished instantly to follow him; it was my duty so to do; but Timagenes had but too well concerted his precautions to prevent me. Apollodorus, who, at his request, had just obtained for me the privileges of a citizen of Athens, represented to me the impossibility of bearing arms against my new country, without exposing him and his family. This consideration prevailed, and I did not follow my friend; I was not witness of his heroic actions; and I did not die with him!

His image is ever present to my mind. Thirty years have since elapsed, yet it is but a moment that I have lost him. Twice have I attempted his eulogium, twice has it been obliterated by my tears. But

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.

had I even possessed the power to finish, I should have had the resolution to suppress it. The virtues of an obscure man are interesting only to his friends, nor can they even claim to be held forth as an example.

The troubles of Greece were eventually increased by the battle of Mantinea;[f] but its immediate effect was to terminate the war.[g] The Athenians, previous to their departure, took care to collect the bodies of their countrymen who had fallen in battle; and after they were consumed on the funeral pile, their bones were carried to Athens, and a day was fixed for the ceremony of their last obsequies, at which one of the principal magistrates presided.[h]

This began by exposing under a large tent the coffins of cypress wood which contained the bones of the deceased. Such as had lost any relation, both men and women, came there from time to time to make libations, and acquit themselves of the duties enjoined by religion and natural affection.[i] Three days after, the coffins, placed on as many cars as there are tribes, proceeded slowly through the city to the Ceramicus without the walls, where funeral games were exhibited. They were then deposited in the earth, after their friends and relations had bathed them for the last time with their tears; and an orator, publicly appointed for the occasion, rising up, pronounced the funeral eulogium of these brave warriors[k]

[f] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. c. 647. [g] Plut. in Ages. tom. 1. p. 616. [h] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 91. [i] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 34. [k] Lys. Orat. Funeb. p. 26 et 27.

Each tribe erected sepulchral stones over the graves of its soldiers, on which were inscribed their names and those of their fathers, their birth-place, and the name of the place near which they fell.

On each side of the road which leads from the city to the Academy are a great number of such sepulchral inscriptions.[1] Others are seen scattered in different places in the vicinity. Here lie those who fell in the war of Ægina; there, those who were slain in Cyprus; farther on, such as perished in the Sicilian expedition. It is impossible to advance a step without treading on the ashes of a hero, or of a victim sacrificed to his country. I saw the soldiers who were returned from Peloponnesus, and had attended at the ceremony, straying among these funeral monuments, pointing out to each other the names of their ancestors and fathers, and seeming to anticipate the honours which were one day to be paid to their own memories.

[1] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 29.

object to their navy. The partisans of the aristocracy, deeply offended at this, alleged that the first legislators had only favoured agriculture, and that Themistocles, by uniting the city to the Piræus, and thus connecting the sea and land, had increased the number of the sailors, and the power of the multitude. Accordingly, after the taking of Athens, the first measure adopted by the thirty tyrants appointed by Lysander, was to turn the rostrum from which the orators harangued the people toward the land, whereas it before had always fronted the sea.[a]

I have not taken notice of several edifices situate on the sides and in the environs of the citadel. Such, among others, are the Odeum and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The former is a kind of theatre built by Pericles for musical competitions.[b] In it the six junior archons sometimes hold their meetings.[c] The roof, which is supported by columns, is built with the fragments of ships of the Persian fleet defeated at Salamis.[d] The temple of Jupiter Olympius was begun by Pisistratus, and would, it is said, had it been finished,[e] have been the most magnificent of temples.

Your progress had been often interrupted, and your eyes have been frequently astonished and delighted, in the road we have pursued from the Piræus to the place in which we now are. There are few streets, few squares in this city, in which you will not

[a] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121. [b] Meurs. in Ceram. c. 11. [c] Demosth. in Neær. p. 869. [d] Theophr. Charact. c. 3. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160. [e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 8. Meurs. Athen. Attic. c. 10.

meet with similar objects to excite and gratify curiosity. But do not rely wholly on appearances. The edifice, the most uninviting externally, sometimes contains a precious treasure within. Towards the north, in the quarter of Melita, see if you cannot discern some trees around a house that is scarcely distinguishable: that is the abode of Phocion.[f] On this other side, in the middle of those houses, in a little temple dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis representing the god of love crowned with roses;[g] lower down, near that eminence, stands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of those essays which discover a superior genius. Parrhasius, persuaded that it was within the reach of his art, either by the expression of the countenance, or by the attitude and air of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye,[h] undertook, in his portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters, of that violent, unjust, gentle, compassionate, vain-glorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people.[i] But how has he succeeded in this ingenious thought? I will not deprive you of the pleasure of the surprise; you shall judge for yourself.

I have hastily accompanied you through the city; you are now to view, at one comprehensive glance, the adjacent country. To the east is Mount Hymettus, which the bees enrich with their honey, and

[f] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. [g] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 991. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ἀνθέμ. [h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 781. [i] Plin. lib. 35. c. 10. t. ii. p. 693.

This pre-eminence is determined by lot,[t] and its duration limited to the space of thirty-six days for the four first classes, and thirty-five for the others.[u]

The class which possesses the temporary superiority over the rest, is named the class of the prytanes,[x] and is maintained at the public expense,[y] in a place called the Prytaneum. But as it is yet too numerous collectively to exercise its functions, it is subdivided into five decuriæ or committees, each composed of ten proëdri or presidents;[z] the seven seniors of whom, during seven successive days, occupy alternately the chief place: the three others never attain this situation during the whole year.

He who fills it is considered as the chief of the senate, and his functions are so important, that it has been thought proper to entrust him with his authority only for one day. He it is who generally proposes the subjects of discussion; collects the suffrages of the senate; and has, during the short continuation of his office, the custody of the seal of the republic, of the keys of the citadel, and of those of the treasury of Minerva.[a]

These various arrangements, always determined by lot, are intended to maintain the most perfect degree of equality among the citizens, and as barriers

[t] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Suid. in Πρυτ. [u] Suid. ib. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 189. Corsin. Fast. Att. dis. 2. p. 103. [x] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρυτ. [y] Demosth. de Cor. p. 501. Poll. lib. 8. c. 15. § 155. Ammon. ap. Harpocr. in Θόλ. [z] Argum. in Androt. ut supra. [a] Suid. in Ἐπιστ. Argum. Orat. Demosth. in Androt. p. 697.

for the greater safety of the state. Not an Athenian but may become a member and chief of the highest body of the republic; not an individual but may, by merit or intrigues, have an opportunity to abuse an authority confided to him, though but for a few moments.

The nine other classes, or chambers of the senate, have in like manner a president at their head, who is changed at each meeting, and is each time drawn for by lot by the chief of the prytanes.[b] On certain occasions, these nine presidents carry the decrees of the senate to the general assembly; and the first in order of them collects the suffrages of the people.[c] On others this is performed by the chief of the prytanes, or one of his assistants.[d]*

The senate is annually re-elected, and is expected, whilst its authority continues, to exclude those of its members whose conduct has been reprehensible,[e] and to deliver up its accounts previous to its dissolution.[f] If the people are satisfied with its conduct, they decree it a crown; a reward which is withheld when it has neglected to build galleys.[g] The members who compose it receive a drachma[h] a day for their attendance.† It meets every day, except on festivals,

[b] Harpocr. in Προέδ. et in Ἐπιστάτ. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 191. [c] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. i. p. 276 et 286. [d] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 60. Schol. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 14. Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 368; et alii. * See note XIII. at the end of the volume. [e] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 277. [f] Id. in Ctesiph. p. 430 et 431. [g] Demosth. adv. Androt. p. 700. Arg. ejusd. Orat. [h] Hesych. in Βουλ. † Eighteen sols (or nine-pence.)

and days considered as unfortunate.[i] It is the duty of the prytanes to convene it, and to prepare the subjects of deliberation. As it represents the tribes, it is in its turn represented by the prytanes, who, constantly collected in one place, are always at hand to watch over such dangers as may threaten the republic, and to give timely notice to the senate.

During the thirty-five or thirty-six days that the class of prytanes are in office, the people assemble four times;[k] and these four assemblies, which fall on the 11th, the 20th, 30th, and 33d days of the prytany, are called ordinary assemblies.

On the first of these days they confirm or remove the magistrates just entered into office.[l] The garrisons and fortresses that constitute the security of the state are the next objects of consideration,[m] as well as certain public informations; and the assembly concludes by publishing the confiscations of property ordered by the courts of justice.[n] On the second, every citizen who has previously deposited on the altar an olive-branch bound with a sacred fillet, may freely discourse on all subjects relative to the administration and government. The third is set apart to receive heralds and ambassadors who have first given an account of their mission,[o] or presented their creden-

[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 193. [k] Arist. ap. Harpocr. in Κυρία. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. c. 4. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1. c. 17. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 196. [l] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 95. [m] Arist. ap. Harpocr. ibid. [n] Poll. ibid. [o] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 397 et 402. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 298.

tials to the senate.[p] The fourth is appropriated to religious matters, such as festivals, sacrifices, &c.

The object of these assemblies being known, and their discussions frequently uninteresting, it became necessary, not long since, to drag the people thither by violence, or to force them by penalties to give attendance.[q] But they are more assiduous since the government has adopted the measure of granting three oboli* as a reward for their appearance;[r] and as there is no punishment for absence, it unavoidably happens that the poorer sort attend in greater numbers than the rich; a circumstance very consonant to the spirit of democracies.[s]

Besides these assemblies, extraordinary ones are held when the state is menaced with approaching danger.[t] These are convoked by the prytanes,[u] and more frequently by the commanders of the troops,[x] in the name and with the permission of the senate. When circumstances permit, the invitation is extended to all the inhabitants of Attica.[y]

Women cannot be present at the public assembly, nor have men that right till they have passed their twentieth year. This privilege is forfeited by him who is stigmatised with infamy; and a stranger who should usurp it is punishable by death, inasmuch as he

[p] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 96. [q] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 22. Schol. ibid. * Nine sols (or four-pence halfpenny). [r] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 330. Id. in Eccles. v. 292 et 308. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 205. [s] Xenoph. Memorab. p. 775. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 378. [t] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 116. [u] Æsch. ibid. p. 403 et 404. [x] Demosth. de Cor. p. 478, 484, et 500. [y] Hesych. in Κατακλ.

is deemed to have usurped the sovereign power,[a] or obtained the means of betraying the secrets of the state.[a]

The meeting of the assembly begins very early in the morning,[b] and is held either in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market, or in a spacious place near the citadel, named the Pnyx.[c] Six thousand suffrages are requisite to give the force of law to several of its decrees.[d] It is not, however, at all times practicable to obtain this number; and during the whole course of the Peloponnesian war it was found impossible to collect more than five thousand citizens[e] in the general assembly.

The chiefs of the senate on important occasions preside at the assemblies,[f] and the whole senate is present at them in a body. The military officers have a distinguished place assigned them,[g] and the city guard, composed of Scythians, attends to maintain order.[h]

When every one is seated,[i] and the place in which the assembly meets purified by the blood of victims,[k] a herald rises up and repeats a form of invocation, which is pronounced also in the senate as often as they proceed to deliberation.[l] With these prayers,

[a] Esprit des Lois, liv. 2. c. 2. [a] Liban. declam. 28. t. i. p. 617. [b] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 736. [c] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. c. 4. [d] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875. Id. in Timocr. p. 780. [e] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 72. [f] Aristoph. Schol. in Acharn. v. 60. [g] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 408. [h] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid. [i] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 751 et 782. Id. in Eccles. v. 165. [k] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 263. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 43. Schol. ad vers. 44. [l] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 304.

addressed to Heaven for the prosperity of the state, are intermingled dreadful imprecations against the orator who shall have received presents to deceive the people, the senate, or the tribunal of the heliastæ.[m] The subject for deliberation is next proposed to the assembly, which is generally contained in a preliminary decree of the senate, and is read with a loud voice.[n] The herald then proclaims: "Let every citizen, who can give useful counsel to his country, ascend the rostrum, beginning with those who are more than fifty years of age." For it was formerly necessary to have passed that age to be permitted to speak first on any subject under deliberation; but this regulation is now neglected,[o] as well as many others.

Although from this moment every man present is at perfect liberty to address the assembly, yet we rarely see any other than the state orators avail themselves of this privilege. These are ten citizens distinguished by their abilities, and especially employed to defend the interests of the country in the assemblies of the senate and the people.[p]

When the question is sufficiently discussed, the proëdri, or presidents of the senate, call for a decision of the people on the decree that is proposed to them. Sometimes they give their suffrages by ballot, but

[m] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 741. Dicæarch. in Aristog. p. 107. [n] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 299. [o] Æschin. in Tim. p. 264. in Ctesiph. p. 428. [p] Aristot. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 689. Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 428. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 850.

oftener by holding up of hands; which is a signal of approbation. The majority of suffrages once ascertained, and the decree read a third time without opposition, the presidents dismiss the assembly, which breaks up with the same noise and tumult as have prevailed through the whole course of their deliberations.[q]

On certain occasions, when the popular leaders have reason to dread the influence of powerful men, they have recourse to a method occasionally practised in other cities of Greece.[r] They propose voting by tribes,[s] and the vote of each tribe is always in the power of the poorer sort, who are more numerous than the rich.

By these various modes it is that the supreme authority, which resides essentially in the people, manifests its pleasure. It is the people who decide on peace and war,[t] who receive ambassadors, who confirm or abrogate laws, who nominate to almost every office, impose taxes, grant the privileges of a citizen to foreigners, and decree rewards to those who have rendered service to their country.[u]

The senate is the permanent council of the people. The members of this body are generally persons of knowledge and ability. The scrutiny they have under-

[q] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 24. Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492. [r] Æneæ Poliorc. Comment. c. 11. [s] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. [t] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 139. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 404. [u] Thucyd. Xenoph. Demosth. &c. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. c. 4.

gone, previous to their entrance into office, proves at least that their conduct has been thought irreproachable, and is a presumption in favour of the rectitude of their intentions.

The people can enact nothing which has not first met with the approbation of the senate. It is to the senate, in the first instance, that all decrees* relative to the administration or government must be presented by the chief of the company, or one of the presidents.[x] They are then discussed by the public orators, and modified, accepted, or rejected, by a majority of votes, in a body of five hundred citizens, most of whom having filled the highest offices of the republic, unite information to experience.

Decrees, as they are passed by them, and previous to their being confirmed by the people, remain in force during the existence of the senate;[y] but the ratification of the people can alone give them a durable authority.

Such is the institution of Solon, whose intention it was that the people should have it in their power to do nothing without the senate, and that their proceedings should be so regulated as to produce the greatest possible advantages with the fewest sources of dissension. But to effect and maintain this happy harmony, it would have been expedient to invest the senate with the means of overawing the people.

* See note XIV. at the end of the volume. [x] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 54; de Cor. p. 500; in Androt. p. 699. Liban. Argum. in eand. Orat. p. 696. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Harpocr. in Προβουλ. [y] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 740. Ulpian. p. 766.

But as this body changes every year, and its officers every day, it has neither time nor interest sufficient to retain any portion of authority; and as, at the expiration of its annual functions, it has honours and favours to look up for from the people,[a] it is reduced to consider them in the light of its benefactors, and consequently its masters. There is in truth no real subject of division between these two bodies; but the inconveniences resulting from their jealousy, would be less dangerous than that union which now subsists between them. The decrees approved by the senate are not only rejected in the assembly of the people, but we every day see private individuals substitute others in their room, which are eagerly adopted by the multitude, without any previous knowledge of their tendency. To this licentiousness, the presidents oppose their right of terminating all disputes. Sometimes they direct the people to deliberate only on the decree of the senate; sometimes they endeavour to make the new propositions fall to the ground, by refusing to put them to the vote, and by postponing the discussion to the next assembly. But the multitude almost always revolt against the exercise of a right that prevents them from deliberating, or thwarts their views, and by tumultuous clamour compel the leaders who oppose their will to resign their places to other presidents, who instantly gratify them in the enjoyment of a liberty of which they are so jealous.[a]

[a] Demosth. in Androt. p. 700. [a] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 408. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

Individuals now possess an influence in the public deliberations which should belong only to the senate.[b] Some of these are factious persons of the lowest extraction, who hurry away the multitude by their effrontery; others, wealthy citizens, who corrupt them by a false liberality. But those who have the most weight are men of eloquence, who laying aside every other occupation, devote their whole time to the administration of the state.

These generally make their first essays in the courts of justice; and after they have there distinguished themselves by their oratory, they, under pretext of serving their country, but more frequently to promote their ambitious views, enter into a nobler track, and undertake the arduous task of inssructing the senate, and guiding the people. Their profession, to which they dedicate themselves at an early period of life,[c] requires, with the sacrifice of their liberty, profound knowledge and exalted genius. For it is not sufficient for an orator to be minutely acquainted with the history, the laws, the necessities, and forces of the republic, and the relative situation of the neighbouring and remote powers;[d] to follow with a steadfast eye those rapid or more tardy efforts that all states are perpetually making against each other, and those almost imperceptible motions which are internally working their destruction; to avoid alarming the jealousy of the feeble and allied nations, and to disconcert the

[b] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 369. [c] Æschin. Epist. 12. p. 213.
[d] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 520; ibid. c. 8.

measures of the powerful and hostile; to discriminate, in fine, the real interests of the country amidst a multitude of combinations and connections: he must also be able to enforce on the public mind those great truths, with the importance of which he is himself sensibly impressed; he must learn to be moved neither by the menaces nor the applauses of the people; to brave the hatred of the rich by subjecting them to heavy imposts, that of the multitude by forcing them from their pleasure or repose, and that of the other orators by detecting and discovering their intrigues; he must be prepared to be responsible alike for events which he had it not in his power to prevent, and for those which it was impossible to foresee;[e] to be the victim, by his disgrace, of projects that have proved abortive, and sometimes even of those which have been justified by success; to appear full of confidence in the hour of imminent danger and universal terror, and by prompt expedients to re-animate declining hope; to fly to the neighbouring states, and with them form powerful leagues; to enkindle an ardent thirst for war by the enthusiasm of liberty; and, after performing the duties of the statesman, the orator, and ambassador, to repair to the field of battle, and seal with his blood the advice he has given to the people from the rostrum.

Such is the lot of those who are at the head of the government. The laws, foreseeing the empire that men at once so useful and so dangerous may assume

[e] Demosth. de Cor. p. 513.

over the minds of the people, have ordained that their abilities should not be called into exertion till ample testimony can be borne to their moral conduct. They exclude from the rostrum[f] the man who shall be proved to have struck his parents, or who has denied them the means of subsistence; for how can he feel the love of his country, whose heart is shut to the sentiments of nature? They exclude the citizen who has dissipated the inheritance of his father, since he would lavish the treasures of the state with still greater unconcern: the man also who has no legitimate offspring,[g] or possesses no property in Attica; for without these ties, his attachment to the republic can be at best but vague and doubtful, since it is not strengthened by private interest: whoever likewise has refused to take arms at the command of the general,[h] abandoned his shield in battle, or addicted himself to shameful pleasures, is not permitted to speak in the assembly, because cowardice and corruption, almost inseparable companions, would expose his mind to every species of treachery: besides that no man who is unable either to defend his country by his valour, or edify it by his example, can be worthy to instruct it by his counsel.

The orator then must ascend the rostrum with the consciousness and authority of an irreproachable private life. It is to be observed likewise, that formerly those who spoke in public accompanied their harangues

[f] Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 264. [g] Din. adv. Demosth. in Oper. Demosth. p. 182. [h] Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.

only with a noble, sedate, and artless action, simple as the virtues which they practised, and the truths it was their object to declare; nor is it yet forgotten that Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles, almost motionless on the tribunal, and with their hands concealed in their mantles,[i] derived as much weight from the gravity of their demeanour as from the powers of their eloquence.

Far from imitating these examples, the modern orators in general exhibit in their features, their exclamations, their gestures, and their garments,[k] nothing but an extravagant and indecent agitation.

This, however, is but a trifling symptom of the infamy of their general conduct. Some sell their talents and their honour to powers at enmity with Athens; others have wealthy citizens at their command, who, by a transient servility, hope to attain the highest offices; while all, waging with each other a perpetual war of reputation and of interest, aspire to the glory and emolument of governing the most enlightened people of Greece and of the world.

Hence those cabals and divisions which are incessantly fermenting in the heart of the republic, and breaking out with violence in the tumultuous assemblies: for the people, so servile in their obedience, so terrible when they obtain the sway, carry thither, with their natural licentiousness of manners, that abhorrence of restraint which they deem a precious portion of their sovereignty. There all their

[i] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 264. [k] Plut. in. Nic. t. i. p. 528.

passions are extreme, and their excesses passed over with impunity. Thither the orators repair, like so many chiefs of parties, now seconded by military officers whose protection they have secured, and now attended by factious adherents whose fury they can moderate at pleasure. No sooner do they make their appearance in the lists, than they commence the attack by insults[l] which animate the multitude, or by strokes of pleasantry which transport them beyond themselves. Presently the clamours, the applauses, the bursts of laughter,[m] that arise from all sides, stifle the voice of the senators who preside at the assembly, of the guards stationed on every side to maintain order,[n] nay even of the orator,[o] who sees his decree defeated by the same paltry artifices that so often cause the failure of a dramatic piece at the theatre of Bacchus.

In vain has a remedy been for some time past attempted, by ordering one of the ten tribes, drawn by lot at each assembly, to take their stations around the rostrum to prevent confusion, and fly to the succour of the violated laws:[p] they are themselves hurried along by the torrent which they are endeavouring to stem; and the futility of their assistance serves only to evince the magnitude of an evil, per-

[l] Aristoph. in Eccles. p. 142. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 428.
[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492. Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 297 et 310. [n] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid.
[o] Aristoph. ibid. v. 37. Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 300 et 310.
[p] Æschin. in Tim. p. 265; in Ctesiph. p. 428.

petuated not only by the nature of the government, but still more by the character of the Athenians.

In fact, that people, highly susceptible as they are of lively and transient sensations, stand distinguished beyond all other nations, for uniting the most discordant qualities, and such as may more easily be abused to mislead them.

History represents them to us, sometimes as an old dotard who may be deceived with impunity,[q] or as an infant who requires continual amusement; and sometimes as displaying the discernment and sentiments of elevated minds; as passionately fond of pleasure and of liberty, of indolence and of glory; as intoxicated with flattery, yet receiving merited reproach with applause;[r] as possessing sufficient penetration to comprehend at a word the plans proposed to them,[s] but too impatient to listen to the particulars, or to foresee their consequences; as making their magistrates tremble before them, and at the very moment pardoning their most bitter enemies; as passing, with the rapidity of lightning, from rage to compassion, from despondence to insolence, from injustice to repentance; as fickle beyond conception; and so frivolous,[t] that in the most serious, nay the most desperate situation of affairs, a single word spoken at random, a happy sally of pleasantry, the smallest object, the most trivial incident, provided it

[q] Aristoph. Equit. v. 710, 749, &c. [r] Plut. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799. [s] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 38. [t] Plin. lib. 35. c. 10. t. ii. p. 693. Corn. Nep. in Timoth. c. 3.

be unexpected, is sufficient to dispel their fears, or to divert them from their most important interests.

Thus was it that the whole assembly was once seen to rise and run after a little bird that Alcibiades, when young, and speaking for the first time in public, had inadvertently suffered to escape from his bosom.[w]

Thus also it was that, about the same time, the orator Cleon, who was become the idol of the Athenians, without possessing any portion of their esteem, sported with the popular favour with impunity. The people were assembled, and waiting for him with impatience, when he at length appeared to request them to defer the deliberation to another day, because, expecting some foreigners of his acquaintance to dine with him, he had not leisure to employ himself about state affairs. The assembly immediately rose, gave him loud plaudits, and the influence of the orator was but increased by this extraordinary behaviour.[x]

I saw them myself one day extremely uneasy at some hostilities that had lately been committed by Philip, and that threatened an immediate rupture. At the moment when their minds were in the greatest agitation, a very little and deformed man stood up to speak. This was Leon, ambassador from Byzantium, who, though his personal appearance was of the most unfavourable kind, possessed much of that wit and presence of mind so highly pleasing to the Athenians.

[w] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.
[x] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 527. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. ibid.

At sight of him, they burst into such violent fits of laughter, that Leon could scarcely obtain a moment's silence. At length he said: "What would you say then did you but see my wife? She hardly reaches to my knees. Yet, little as we are, when we disagree, the city of Byzantium is not large enough to hold us." This pleasantry was so successful, that the Athenians immediately granted the succours he came to solicit.[y]

In a word, they have been known, after expressing the utmost indignation at some intercepted letters of Philip, which they ordered to be read before them, to pay, notwithstanding, so great a respect to the letters written by that prince to his queen, as to order them to be sent to her unopened.[z]

As nothing is more easy than to understand and to inflame the passions and tastes of such a people, it is also extremely easy to acquire their confidence, nor is it less to lose it; but, whilst in favour, there is nothing which the popular leader may not say or undertake, and he may persuade them to adopt good or evil measures with an equal degree of ardour. When guided by firm and virtuous men, they bestowed the offices of the magistracy, embassies, and the command of armies, only on great abilities united with virtue. In our days, they have frequently made a choice at which they should have blushed;[a] but it is the fault of the flatterers who direct them, flatterers as dangerous

[y] Plut. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 804. [z] Id. ibid. p. 799.
[a] Eupol. ap. Stob. p. 239.

as those of tyrants,[b] and who, like them, blush only when disgraced.

The senate being dependent on the people, and the people abandoning themselves without reserve[c] to their favourite orators, by whom they are misled, if any thing can preserve the democracy, it must be private enmities,[d] it must be the facility of prosecuting an orator who makes an improper use of his influence. In this case he is accused of transgressing the laws; and as the charge may be relative either to his person, or the nature of the decree that he has proposed,[e] hence arise two kinds of accusation to which he is perpetually liable.

The object of the first is to stigmatize him in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. If he has received presents to betray his country, if his private conduct be found sullied with any mark of infamy, and especially with those crimes which I have already mentioned, and from which his public functions require him to be exempt, every individual is then permitted to commence a prosecution against him. This prosecution, which assumes different names, according to the nature of the offence,[f] is commenced before a magistrate, who takes cognizance, in the first instance, of the delinquency in question. When the fault is trivial, he sentences him to a trifling penalty;[g] when more im-

[b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 369. [c] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Id. in Lept. p. 541. [d] Æschin. in Tim. p. 260. Melanth. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 20. [e] Isæus ap. Harpocr. in ῥητορ. γραφ. [f] Harpocr. et Suid. in Ῥητορ γραφ. [g] Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. p. 885.

portant, he refers the case to a superior tribunal; and if the crime be proved, the accused, among other punishments, undergoes that of never more ascending the rostrum.

Nor have orators, whose circumspect conduct shelters them from this first species of accusation, less to apprehend on that account from the second, which is termed an accusation on account of illegality.[h]

Amidst the multitude of decrees which we see from time to time enacted with the sanction of the senate and the people, some there are in manifest contradiction to the welfare of the state, and which it is important not to suffer to subsist. But as they were the acts of the legislative power, it should seem that no authority, no tribunal, is competent to annul them. The people themselves should not attempt it, lest the orators who have already taken them by surprise,[i] should again mislead them. What resource then shall there be for the republic? A law, singular indeed at first sight, but admirable in its nature, and so essential as to render it impossible either to suppress or to neglect it, without destroying the democracy;[k] I mean, the law that authorizes the very lowest citizen to appeal from a judgment of the whole people, whenever he is able to demonstrate that the new decree is contrary to the laws already established.

In these circumstances, it is the invisible sovereign,

[h] Hume, Political Discourses, disc. 9. v. ii. p. 2. [i] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 448. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 541. [k] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 797. Æsch. in Ctes. p. 428 et 459.

it is the laws which loudly protest against the national judgment that has violated them; it is in the name of the laws that the accusation is brought forward; it is before the tribunal, which is the chief depositary and avenger of the laws, that it is prosecuted; and the judges, by setting aside the decree, only pronounce that the authority of the people has happened unintentionally to clash with that of the laws; or rather, they maintain the ancient and permanent decisions of the people against their present and transient inclinations.

This remonstrance of the laws having suspended the power which the people had given to their decree, and it being impracticable to proceed judicially against the people, an action can only be brought against the orator who proposed the obnoxious decree, and accordingly it is against him that the accusation for illegality is brought. And it is laid down as a principle, that since he has voluntarily interfered in the administration, he has exposed himself to the alternative of honour when he succeeds, and of punishment when his projects prove abortive.[1]

The cause is first discussed either before the first or before the last six of the archons.[m] The preliminary proceedings gone through, it is removed to the tribunal of the heliastæ, generally composed of five hundred, and sometimes of a thousand, of fifteen hundred, or two thousand judges. It lies with the same

[1] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 309. [m] Demosth. de Cor. p. 481. Id. in Leptin. p. 555.

magistrates to determine, according to the nature of the offence, the number they would choose to have for judges, which they have sometimes increased to six thousand.[n]

The decree may be attacked when it has only passed the senate, or the accuser may wait till it is confirmed by the people. But, whichever of these measures it may be thought proper to adopt, the action must be brought within the year, to subject the orator to punishment. That period once expired, he is no longer responsible for his decree.

After the prosecutor has adduced his arguments for annulling the decree, and the accused has finished his defence, the question is put to the vote.[o] If the former does not obtain the fifth part of the suffrages, he is obliged to pay five hundred drachmas to the public treasury,[p*] and there is an end to the affair. If the decision be unfavourable to the latter, he may still petition for a mitigation of the penalty; but he seldom escapes banishment, interdiction, or heavy pecuniary fines. Here, as in some other causes of a different nature, the intervals for the pleadings and the judgment are divided into three sittings; the one for the person who prosecutes, the other for the accused to make his defence, and the third, when it takes place, to decide on the punishment.[q]

Not an orator but shudders at this accusation; not

[n] Andoc. de Myst. p. 3. [o] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 460. [p] Demosth. de Cor. p. 489 et 490. Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 397. * 450 livres (or 18*l.* 15*s.* sterling). [q] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 397.

a manœuvre but he puts in practice to ward off its consequences. Prayers, tears, negligence of dress, the protection of military officers,[r] all the artifices of eloquence, all the stratagems of policy, are made use of by the accused and his friends.

These means are often but too successful; and we have seen the orator Aristophon boast of having been the object of no less than seventy-five accusations of this kind, and of having always escaped triumphant.[s] Nevertheless, as every orator procures several decrees to be passed during his administration; as it is essential for him to multiply them, in order to maintain his authority; as he is surrounded by enemies rendered quick-sighted by jealousy; as it is easy, by remote deductions, or forced interpretations, to discover some contrariety between his opinions, his conduct, and the numerous laws that are in force, it is almost impossible but that he must, sooner or later, fall a victim to the accusations from which he is incessantly in danger.

I have said that the laws of Athens are numerous. Besides those of Draco, which still in part subsist,[t] besides those of Solon, which form the basis of the civil code, many others have been introduced, either originating in the circumstances of the times, or which have been adopted through the influence of orators.[u]

In every government it should be difficult to re-

[r] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 428. [s] Id. ibid. p. 459. [t] Demosth. in Everg. p. 1062. Andoc. de Myst. part 2. p. 11. [u] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 554.

peal an ancient law, and to establish a new one in its place; and this difficulty should be still greater with a people who, at once subjects and sovereigns, are always tempted to lighten or shake off the yoke they have imposed upon themselves. Solon had so bound up the hands of the legislative power, as to disable it from touching the foundations of his legislation, except with the most extreme precaution.

An individual who proposes to abrogate an old law, must at the same time be ready to substitute another.[x] Both of these he presents to the senate,[y] which, after maturely weighing them, either disapproves the intended change, or commands the proper officers to lay an account of it before the people in the general assembly, whose business it is, among other things, to examine and revise the laws in force.[z] This is the assembly held on the 11th day of the first month of the year.[a] If it appears expedient that the law should actually be repealed, the prytanes refer the matter to the next assembly, which is usually held nineteen days after; and five orators are previously nominated, who are appointed to undertake the defence of the law proposed to be abrogated. In the interval, this law, as well as that to be offered in its place, is daily affixed to certain statues, and exposed to every eye,[b] so that each citizen may compare at his leisure the advantages and inconveniences

[x] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 554; et in Timocr. p. 778. [y] Id. in Timocr. p. 781. [z] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 776. [a] Ulpian. in Tim. p. 811. [b] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 776.

of both. These become the topic of conversation in all companies; and thus the public opinion is gradually formed, and openly manifests itself at the appointed assembly. Still, however, nothing can be finally decided. Commissioners are named, sometimes to the number of a thousand and one, to whom they give the name of legislators, and who must all have sat among the heliastæ.[c] These form a tribunal, before which appear both the person who attacks and those who defend the ancient law. The commissioners have the power to abrogate it, without again returning to the people. They next examine whether the new law be adapted to circumstances equally beneficial to all the citizens, and conformable to the other laws: these preliminaries settled, they either confirm it themselves, or present it to the people, who affix to it the seal of authority by their suffrages. The orator who has occasioned this alteration is liable to a prosecution, not for having procured the repeal of an obsolete or useless law, but for introducing another which may eventually prove detrimental.

All new laws must be propounded and discussed in the same manner. Yet notwithstanding the formalities I have mentioned, notwithstanding the obligation imposed on certain magistrates to make every year an exact revisal of the laws, so great a number of contradictory and obscure ones have insensibly crept into the code, that the Athenians have lately been under the necessity of establishing a special

[c] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 776 et 777. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 101.

commission to make a proper selection; but their labour has hitherto been fruitless.[d]

It is a great advantage that the nature of their democracy has rendered delays and inquiries necessary in matters of legislation: but it is often a great misfortune that they are no less unavoidable on occasions that call for celerity and dispatch. In a monarchy, a single moment suffices to promulgate and carry into execution the will of the sovereign.[e] Here the senate must be first consulted; the assembly of the people be convoked; and they must have time to be informed, to deliberate, to decide. The execution of their determinations is subject to still more impediments. All these obstacles so greatly retard the progress of affairs, that the people are sometimes obliged to refer their decision to the senate:[f] but it is with regret they submit to make this sacrifice, dreading the revival of a faction composed of the partisans of the aristocracy,[g] a faction which formerly stripped them of their authority. At present this party is in a state of depression: but that circumstance would render them only the more ardent in their exertions to destroy a power by which they are kept down and humbled. The people hate them the more, as they make no distinction between their power and the tyranny of a single person.

Hitherto we have considered the senate and the

[d] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 433. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 554.
[e] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321. [f] Id. ibid. p. 317.
[g] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 387 et 427. Theoph. Charact. c. 26. Casaub. ib. Corn. Nep. in Phoc. c. 3.

people as solely occupied with the great object of government: they should be regarded likewise, in some measure, as two courts of justice, in which certain offences are prosecuted ;[h] and what will appear extraordinary is, that excepting some trifling pecuniary fines which the senate are empowered to impose,[i] other causes, after undergoing the judgment of the senate, of the people, or of both, one after the other, are, or are liable to be, removed to a tribunal that determines in the last resort.[k] I have known a citizen, accused of embezzling the public money, first condemned by the senate, then by the suffrages of the people, which were in suspense for a whole day, and finally by two tribunals, forming together the number of a thousand and one judges.[l]

It has been thought with reason, that the executive power, distinguished from the legislative, should never be converted into a vile instrument of the latter. But I am compelled to own, that in times of trouble and corruption, so wise a law has more than once been violated; and that orators have occasionally induced the people whom they governed to keep back certain causes, in order to prevent some individuals, whom they had devoted to destruction, from obtaining relief in the ordinary courts of justice.*[m]

[h] Andoc. de Myst. part 1. p. 2. [i] Demosth. in Everg. p. 1058. [k] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 588. Demosth. ibid. Liban. Argum. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 601. [l] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 774. * In support of this fact, I have cited Aristotle, who, from motives of prudence, does not name the republic of Athens; but it is evident that he alludes to it in this passage. [m] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p 449. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 369.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Magistrates of Athens.

In that violent conflict between passions and duties, which must infallibly arise wherever there are men, and still more where these men are free, and think themselves independent, it is necessary that an authority continually armed to repress and punish licentiousness, should with unceasing vigilance watch over and prevent its progress; and as a single authority cannot always immediately act, it also becomes necessary, by the institution of several magistrates, to render this power at once formidable and omnipresent.

The people assemble on the four last days of the year, to nominate to the different offices of the magistracy;[n] and though by the laws of Aristides[o] they may confer these offices on the lowest of the Athenians, they very rarely grant those which may affect the safety of the state to any but the most distinguished citizens.[q] Their will is declared either by the way of suffrage, or by lot.[q]

[n] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 429. Suid. in Ἀρχαί. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Androt. p. 697. [o] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 37. Plut. in Arstid. p. 332. [p] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 691. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745. [q] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 832. Æschin. in Ctes. p. 432. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. c. 1. Potter. Archæolog. lib. 1. c. 11.

The places then disposed of are very numerous. The persons who are appointed to them must undergo an examination before the tribunal of the heliastæ ;[r] and, as if this probation were insufficient, the people are asked, at the first monthly assembly, or prytany, whether they have any complaints to allege against their magistrates ?[s] On the slightest accusation, the chiefs of the assembly proceed to put the matter to the vote : and if the question be decided against the accused magistrate, he is removed from office, and brought before a court of justice, the determination of which is final.[t]

The first and most important of these magistracies is that of the archons, composed of nine of the principal citizens, invested not only with the superintendence of the police, but empowered to receive, in the first instance, all public informations, and the complaints of oppressed citizens.

Their nomination must be preceded, or immediately followed, by two examinations ; one before the senate, the other before the tribunal of the heliastæ.[u] Among other conditions,[x] it is requisite that they should be the children and grand-children of citizens ; that they always should have paid a proper veneration to their parents, and have borne arms in the service of the country. They next swear to maintain the

[r] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 429. Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 44. Harpocr. et Hesych. in Δοκιμ. [s] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 87. [t] Harpocr. et Suid. in Κατα χειρ. [u] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 432. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 554. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 86. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 237. [x] Poll. ibid. § 85 et 86.

laws, and to accept no presents.[y] They take this oath on the originals of the laws themselves, which are preserved with the most religious veneration. Another motive still more disposes them inviolably to observe what they have sworn. On going out of office, they have hopes, after another examination, to be admitted into the senate of the Areopagus,[z] the highest object of ambition to a virtuous mind.

Their persons, as well as those of all the magistrates, are sacred. Whoever should insult them by any act of violence, or improper language, when they have the crown of myrtle,[a] the symbol of their authority, on their heads, would be excluded from most of the privileges of a citizen, or sentenced to pay a fine: but they must merit likewise, by their conduct, the respect annexed to their office.

The three first archons have each a particular tribunal, where they sit accompanied by two assessors chosen by themselves.[b] The last six, called thesmothetæ, form only one and the same jurisdiction. These different tribunals take cognizance of different kinds of causes.[c]

The archons are empowered to draw by lot the judges of the superior courts.[d] They have functions and prerogatives common to them all, and others that are peculiar to a single archon. The first archon,

[y] Poll. ibid. Plut. in. Solon. t. i. p. 92. [z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Id. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 118. [a] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 86. Hesych. in Μυρρίν. Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 6. c. 6. [b] Æschin. adv. Tim. p. 284. Demosth. in Neær. p. 872 et 874. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 92. [c] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 956; in Pantæn. p. 992. [d] Poll. ibid. § 87.

for example, called the eponymus, from his name appearing at the head of the acts and decrees passed during his year of office, has more especially under his care widows and minors;[e] the second, or king archon, is to exclude from the mysteries and religious ceremonies all who have been guilty of homicide;[f] and the third, or polemarch, exercises a kind of jurisdiction over foreigners settled at Athens.[g] All three preside separately at festivals and solemn games. The last six regulate the days for the sitting of the superior courts;[h] go their rounds, during the night, to maintain order and tranquillity in the city;[i] and preside at the elections of several subordinate magistrates.[k]

After the election of the archons succeeds that of the strategi or generals of armies, of the hipparchi or generals of the cavalry,[l] of the officers employed in the collection and custody of the public revenue,[m] of the persons who are to take care that the city is supplied with provisions, of those who superintend the highways, and many others whose functions are less important.

Sometimes the tribes, assembled in virtue of a decree of the people, choose inspectors and treasurers, to repair such public works as are falling to decay.[n]

[e] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Lacrit. et in Pantæn. ibid. [f] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 90. [g] Demosth. in Zenoth. p. 932. Pollux. ibid. [h] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 87. [i] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 650. [k] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 429. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 8. t. ii. p. 422. Poll. ib. lib. 8. § 97. Plut. in Lyc. t. ii. p. 841. [n] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 432.

The magistrates of almost all these departments are respectively ten in number; and as it is the nature of the government uniformly to tend towards equality, one of the number is chosen from each tribe.

One of the most useful establishments of this kind is a chamber of accounts, which is annually re-chosen in the general assembly of the people, and consists of ten officers.[o] In this chamber, the archons, the members of the senate, the commanders of the galleys, the ambassadors,[p] the areopagites, nay even the ministers of the altars, in a word, all persons who have executed any commission under the government, must appear, some on going out of office, others at stated periods; the former to account for the sums they have received, the latter to justify their conduct, and others again merely to prove that they are liable to no censure.

Such as refuse to appear are neither allowed to make a will, to leave the country,[q] to fill any office of magistracy a second time,[r] nor to receive from the public the civic crown decreed to those who have served the state faithfully;[s] they may even be impeached before the senate, or other tribunals, which may inflict on them still more disgraceful marks of infamy.[t] As soon as they are out of office, they are liable to a prosecution at the suit of any private

[o] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430. Harpocr. et Etymol. in Λογις. [p] Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 45. [q] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430. [r] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 796. [s] Æschin. ibid. p. 429, &c. [t] Demosth. in Mid. p. 617.

citizen.[w] If they are charged with peculation, the chamber of accounts takes cognisance of the accusation; if they are accused of any other crimes, the cause is instantly removed to the ordinary tribunals.[x]

[w] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 431. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 663. [x] Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 45.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Athenian Courts of Justice.

THE right of protecting innocence is not acquired at Athens either by birth or riches. It is the privilege of every citizen.[y] As all may be present at the assembly of the nation, and decide on the interests of the state, all are likewise entitled to give their suffrages in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, is neither an employment nor a function of magistracy; it is a temporary commission, respectable for its object, but degraded by the motives that determine the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain renders them assiduous at the tribunals, as well as at the general assembly. Three oboli * are distributed to each at every sitting;[z] which trifling recompense occasions to the state an annual expenditure of about one hundred and fifty talents;†

[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. * About nine sols (or four-pence halfpenny). [z] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 8. c. 5. § 20. † 810,000 livres (33,750*l*). The following is the calculation of the scholiast of Aristophanes (in Vesp. v. 661.) Two months were dedicated to festivals. The tribunals then were open only during 10 months, or 300 days. It cost each day 18,000 oboli, that is to say, 3000 drachmas, or half a talent, and consequently 15 talents monthly, or 150 per annum. Samuel Petit has controverted this calculation (page 325).

for the number of judges is prodigious, and amounts to about six thousand.[a]

An Athenian who is more than thirty years of age, who has led an irreproachable life, and who owes nothing to the public treasury, possesses the qualification requisite to discharge the judicial functions.[b] The court in which he is to sit is annually determined by lot.[c]

In this manner are the tribunals filled; and of these, ten principal ones are enumerated, four for homicide, and six for other causes, as well criminal as civil. Among the former, one takes cognisance of involuntary homicide; a second, of homicide committed in self-defence; a third, of murder, the perpetrator of which, formerly banished his country for this crime, shall not have obtained a revocation of the decree previous to his return; a fourth, of homicide occasioned by the fall of a stone, a tree, and other such accidents.[d] We shall see, in the succeeding chapter, that the Areopagus took cognisance of premeditated murder.

So many jurisdictions for the same crime by no means prove that it is at this time more common in Athens than in other countries, but only that they were instituted in ages which knew no other right than force: and in truth they are all of the heroic ages. The origin of the other tribunals is unknown;

[a] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 660. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 324. [b] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 122. Pet. ibid. p. 306. [c] Demosth in Aristog. p. 832. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 277. [d] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 122.

but they must have been formed gradually, in proportion as, societies becoming more perfectly civilised, artifice has taken place of violence.

These ten sovereign courts, composed in general of five hundred judges,[e] and some of a still greater number, possess no inherent activity, but are set in motion by the nine archons. Each of these magistrates carries thither the causes that have fallen within his department, and presides in this court whilst they are depending.[f]

It being improper for these assemblies to meet at the same time with those of the people, since they are both composed nearly of the same persons,[g] it is the duty of the archons to appoint the time for the meeting of the former; it is their business likewise to draw by lot the judges who are to fill these different tribunals.

The most celebrated is that of the heliastæ,[h] before which all causes of consequence either to the state or individuals are brought. We have just said, that it consists in general of five hundred judges; and that, on certain occasions, the magistrates order other tribunals to unite themselves with that of the heliastæ, insomuch that the number is sometimes increased even to six thousand.[i]

[e] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 123. [f] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 641. Harpocr. in Ἡγεμ. δικαστ. [g] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 786. [h] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 69. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἡλι. [i] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 123. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 187. Lys. in Agorat. p. 244. Andoc. de Mys. part 2. p. 3.

These engage, by a solemn oath, to decide according to the laws and the decrees of the senate and the people, to receive no presents, to listen impartially to both parties, and to oppose, with their utmost power, all persons who shall make the least attempt to introduce innovations in the form of government. Dreadful imprecations against themselves and their families, should they violate it, conclude this oath, which contains several less essential particulars.[k]

Were I, in this and the succeeding chapters, to attempt to follow the Athenian jurisprudence through all its mazes, I should inevitably bewilder myself in an obscure and difficult labyrinth; but I cannot overlook an institution which appears to me highly favourable to those who, though they appeal to the laws, wish not to be litigious. Every year forty inferior judges go the circuit through the different towns of Attica,[l] hold their assizes there, decide on certain acts of violence,[m] and terminate all processes for small sums not exceeding ten drachmas,* referring more considerable causes to arbitration.[n]

The arbitrators are all persons of good reputation, and about sixty years of age. At the end of every year, they are drawn by lot out of each tribe, to the number of forty-four.[o]

Persons who do not choose to expose themselves to the delays of ordinary justice, to deposit a sum of

[k] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 796. [l] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 100. [m] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992. * 9 livres (or seven shillings and sixpence). [n] Poll. ibid. [o] Suid. in Hesych. Δικαστ. Ulpian. in Dem. Mid. p. 663.

money previous to the judgment, or to pay a fine decreed against the plaintiff failing in his proofs, may confide their interests to one or more arbitrators nominated by themselves, or whom the archon draws by lot in their presence.[p] When the arbitrators are of their own choice, they take an oath to abide by their decision, from which they then cannot appeal; but if they are chosen by lot, they are not deprived of that resource;[q] and the arbitrators, enclosing the depositions of the witnesses, and all the documents of the process, in a box which they carefully seal up, transmit them to the archon, whose duty it is to lay the cause before one of the higher tribunals.[r]

If the archon has referred the matter in dispute to arbitrators drawn by lot, at the request only of one party, the adverse party has the right either to demur against the competence of the tribunal, or to allege other exceptions.[s]

Arbitrators called upon to decide in affairs where one of the parties are their friends or relations, might be tempted to pronounce an iniquitous judgment: in such cases it is provided that the cause may be removed into one of the sovereign courts.[t] They might also permit themselves to be corrupted by presents, or be influenced by private prejudices: in which case the injured party has a right, at the expiration of the year, to prosecute them in a court of justice, and

[p] Herald. Animadvers. lib. 5. c. 14. p. 570. Pet Leg. Attic. p. 344. [q] Demosth. in Aphob. p. 918. Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 127. [r] Herald. Animadv. p. 372. [s] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662. [t] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 943.

compel them to defend, and show the reasons of, their award.[w] The fear of such a scrutiny might likewise induce them to elude the exercise of these functions: but the law has provided against that, by fixing a stigma on every arbitrator who, when drawn by lot, refuses to perform his duty.[x]

When I heard, for the first time, of an oath, I considered it as necessary only among rude nations, to whom falsehood might appear perhaps less criminal than perjury. Yet have I seen the Athenians exact it from magistrates, senators, judges, orators, witnesses; from the accuser, who has so evident an interest to violate it; and from the accused, who is driven to the dilemma of offending against his religion, or fixing guilt on himself. But I have observed, likewise, that this awful ceremony is now no more than a form, which is an insult on the gods, useless to society, and offensive to those who are under the necessity of submitting to it. The philosopher Xenocrates, being called upon one day to give his testimony, made his deposition, and advanced towards the altar to confirm it. The judges blushed; and unanimously opposing the administration of the oath, rendered the highest honour to the integrity of so respectable a witness.[y] What idea then must they have entertained of the others?

The inhabitants of the islands and cities in sub-

[w] Demosth. in Mid. p. 617. Ulpian. p. 663. [x] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 126. [y] Cicer. ad. Attic. lib. 1. epist. 16. t. viii. p. 69. Id. pro Balb. c. 5. t. vi. p. 127. Val. Max. lib. 2. extern. c. 10. Laërt. in Xenocr. § 7.

jection to the republic, are obliged to have their legal disputes decided in the last resort[z] before the tribunals of Athens. The state derives a benefit from the duties they pay on entering the port, and the sums they expend during their residence in the city.—Another motive induces the Athenians to deprive them of the advantage of terminating their differences at home. If they had sovereign jurisdictions, they would only have to look up to their governors for protection, and, on numberless occasions, might oppress the friends of the democracy; whereas, by being obliged to repair to Athens, they are forced to humble themselves before that people who are their judges in the tribunals, and who are but too well disposed to deal out the justice they solicit, according to the measure of affection they are supposed to entertain for their authority.

[z] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 694. Aristoph. in Avib. v. 1422 et 1455.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Areopagus.

THE senate of the Areopagus is the most ancient, and yet the most upright of the Athenian tribunals It assembles sometimes in the royal portico;[a] but its ordinary place of meeting is on an eminence at a small distance from the citadel,[b] and in a kind of hall defended from the weather only by a rustic roof.[c]

The number of senators is unlimited, and their places held for life.[d] The archons are admitted into this court after their year of office is expired;[e] but not till they have proved, in a solemn examination, that they have discharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity.[f] If, in this examination, any should be found either artful or powerful enough to elude the severity of their censors, it is impossible for them, once become Areopagites, to resist the authority of example; and they are forced to appear virtuous,[g] as in certain military corps men are under the necessity of displaying courage.

[a] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 831. [b] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 52. [c] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 118. Vitruv. lib. 2. c. 1. [d] Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Androt. p. 697. [e] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Lept. p. 586. [f] Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. ibid. [g] Isocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 329 et 330.

The reputation which this tribunal has enjoyed for so many centuries, is founded on titles that will transmit its fame to succeeding ages.[k] Innocence, summoned to appear before it, approaches without apprehension; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retire without daring to murmur.[l]

The Areopagus keeps a strict eye over the conduct of its members, and judges them without partiality, sometimes even for trivial faults. A senator was punished for having stifled a little bird, which, from fear, had taken refuge in his bosom.[k] He was thus taught, that he who has a heart shut against pity, should not be allowed to have the lives of the citizens at his mercy. The decisions of this court, therefore, are considered as standards, not only of wisdom, but of humanity. I saw a woman brought before it, accused of procuring the death of some person by poison. She had endeavoured to gain the affections of a man whom she passionately loved, by a philtre, of which he died. She was dismissed without punishment, the court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable.[l]*

Certain public bodies, as a recompense for their services, obtain a crown and other marks of honour from the people. That of which I am speaking asks none, nor must solicit any,[m] nothing distinguishing it

[k] Cicer. Epist. ad. Attic. lib. 1. epist. 14. [l] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 735. Lycurg. in Leocrat. part 2. p. 149. Aristid. in Panath. t. i. p. 185. [k] Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1591. [l] Aristot. in Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 17. t. ii. p. 157. * See note XV. at the end of the volume. [m] Æschin. Ctesiph. p. 430.

so much as that it has no need of distinctions. In the infancy of comedy, all the Athenians were permitted to employ their genius in this new species of literature: the members of the Areopagus were alone excepted;[n] and, indeed, with what propriety could men so grave in their deportment, so rigid in their manners, pay attention to, or ridicule, the follies of society?

The origin of this court is traced back to the time of Cecrops;[o] but it is indebted for one more noble to Solon, who invested it with the superintendence of morals.[p] It then took cognisance of almost all crimes, all vices, and abuses. Murder, poisoning, robbery, the crimes of incendiaries, libertinism, and innovations, either in the system of religion or the form of government, by turns excited its vigilance. It was empowered, by entering and examining private houses, to condemn every useless citizen as dangerous, and every expense not proportioned to the means of the citizen, as criminal.[q] As it exhibited the greatest firmness in punishing crimes, and the nicest circumspection in reforming manners; as it never applied chastisement till advice and menaces were slighted;[r] it acquired the esteem and love of the people, even while it exercised the most absolute power.

The education of youth became the first object of its care.[s] It pointed out to the children of citizens the path they should pursue, and assigned them guides

[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348. [o] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3. [p] Plut. in Solon. p. 90. [q] Meurs. Areop. c. 9. [r] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 334. [s] Id. ibid. p. 332.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Athenian Courts of Justice.

THE right of protecting innocence is not acquired at Athens either by birth or riches. It is the privilege of every citizen.[y] As all may be present at the assembly of the nation, and decide on the interests of the state, all are likewise entitled to give their suffrages in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, is neither an employment nor a function of magistracy; it is a temporary commission, respectable for its object, but degraded by the motives that determine the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain renders them assiduous at the tribunals, as well as at the general assembly. Three oboli * are distributed to each at every sitting;[z] which trifling recompense occasions to the state an annual expenditure of about one hundred and fifty talents;†

[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. * About nine sols (or four-pence halfpenny). [z] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 8. c. 5. § 20. † 810,000 livres (33,750*l*). The following is the calculation of the scholiast of Aristophanes (in Vesp. v. 661.) Two months were dedicated to festivals. The tribunals then were open only during 10 months, or 300 days. It cost each day 18,000 oboli, that is to say, 3000 drachmas, or half a talent, and consequently 15 talents monthly, or 150 per annum. Samuel Petit has controverted this calculation (page 325).

the matter for a trial. Sometimes it takes the informations of its own motion; sometimes this office is assigned to it by the assembly of the people.[c] The proceedings ended, it makes its report to the people, without coming to any conclusion. The accused then has in his power to offer new pleas in his defence, and the people name orators to conduct the prosecution before one of the superior courts.

Trials in the Areopagus are preceded by tremendous ceremonies. The two parties, placed amid the bleeding members of the victims, take an oath, which they confirm by dreadful imprecations against themselves and families.[d] They call to witness the inexorable Eumenides, who, from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to their worship,[e] seem to listen to their invocation, and prepare to punish the perjured.

After these preliminaries, they proceed to the trial; in which truth alone is entitled to present herself to the judges, who dread eloquence not less than falsehood. The advocates must scrupulously banish from their harangues all exordia, perorations, digressions, and every ornament of style, nay even the language of sentiment; that language which so violently inflames the imagination, and has so great a power over commiserating minds.[f] Passion would paint itself in vain in the eyes and gestures of the orator, since the Areopagus generally holds its assemblies in the night.

[c] Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 179, 180, &c. [d] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Dinarch. adv. Dem. p. 178. [e] Meurs. in Areop. c. 2. [f] Lys. adv. Simon. p. 88. Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 149. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 899. Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 117.

The question having been sufficiently discussed, the judges deposit in silence their suffrages in two urns, one of which is called the urn of death, the other the urn of mercy.[g] When the numbers are equal, an inferior officer adds, in favour of the accused, the suffrage of Minerva;[h] so called, because, according to an ancient tradition, this goddess, being present in the court of Areopagus at the trial of Orestes, gave her casting vote to turn the scale of justice.

On important occasions, when the people, inflamed by their orators, are on the point of adopting some measures injurious to the welfare of the state, the Areopagites have sometimes presented themselves to the assembly, and by arguments or entreaties prevailed on them to listen to reason.[i] The people, who have nothing to fear from their authority, but who respect their wisdom, sometimes permit them to revise their decisions. The facts I am about to mention happened in my time.

A citizen who had been banished from Athens had the temerity to return. He was accused before the people, who thought proper to acquit him, at the instigation of a favourite orator. The Areopagus, taking cognisance of the affair, ordered the criminal to be seized, recommenced the prosecution, and prevailed on the people to condemn him.[k]

Deputies were to be sent to the council of the Amphictyons, and amongst those whom the people

[g] Meurs. Areop. c. 8.
[h] Aristid. Orat. in Min. t. i. p. 24.
[i] Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
[k] Demosth. de Coron. p. 495.

had made choice of was the orator Æschines, whose conduct was not entirely exempt from suspicion. The Areopagus, on whose stern virtue talents without probity make no impression, instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Æschines, and pronounced that the orator, Hyperides, appeared to them more worthy of so honourable a commission. The people immediately appointed Hyperides.[1]

It is a pleasing reflection that the Areopagus, stripped as it is of almost all its functions, has neither forfeited its reputation, nor departed from its integrity, but even in its decline continues to command the public respect. I shall mention another example that passed under my eyes.

The Areopagus had repaired to the general assembly, to give its opinion respecting the project of a citizen mamed Timarchus, who was soon after proscribed for the depravity of his manners. Autolycus addressed them in the name of the whole court. This senator, educated in the simplicity of ancient times, and a stranger to the shameful abuse to which the most ordinary terms of conversation are now perverted, suffered a word to drop from him, which, misconstrued from its real sense, admitted of an allusion to the licentious life of Timarchus. The whole assembly applauded him in a transport, and Autolycus, astonished, assumed a severer countenance. After a moment's pause, he attempted to proceed; but the people, putting an arch construction on the most

[1] Demosth. de Coron. p. 495.

innocent expressions, never ceased to interupt him by a confused noise and immoderate bursts of laughter. A distinguished citizen now rising, exclaimed: Are you not ashamed, Athenians, to be guilty of such indecency in presence of the Areopagites? The people answered that they felt all the veneration due to the majesty of that tribunal; but that there were circumstances in which it was impossible to restrain themselves within the bounds of decorum.[m] What virtues must not this body have possessed, to have established and maintained so high an opinion of the respect due to it in the minds of the people; and what good might it not have produced, had they known how to value it as it deserved!

[m] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 272.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of Accusations and Legal Procedures among the Athenians.

The causes brought before the courts of justice concern either offences against the government, or against individuals. In the former case, every citizen may indiscriminately step forward as a prosecutor; in the latter, the injured person alone possesses that right. The punishment for crimes against the state is often capital; but for offences against individuals it is confined to damages and pecuniary satisfaction.

In a democracy, more than in any other government, the injury done to the state becomes personal to every citizen, and violence towards an individual is a crime against the state.[t] At Athens it is not thought sufficient that public prosecutions may be commenced against those who betray their country, or are guilty of impiety, sacrilege, or firing the city:[u] such a prosecution lies also against the general who has not performed every thing which he ought to have done or might have done; against the soldier who absents himself from the enrolment, or deserts from the army; against the ambassador, the magistrate, the judge, or the orator, who have been guilty of mis-

[t] Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 610. [u] Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 40, &c.

conduct; against the individual who has assumed the privileges of a citizen, without the necessary qualifications, or who has taken on himself any office from which he is excluded; against the man who corrupts his judges, debauches youth, remains in celibacy, or attacks the life or honour of a citizen; in fine, against all who are guilty of offences which evidently tend to disturb the government or endanger the safety of the citizens.

Litigations on the subject of a disputed inheritance, a breach of trust, an uncertain debt, damage received in property, and a variety of other cases, which do not immediately concern the state, afford matter of trial between the parties.[x]

The proceedings vary in some points, as well from the difference of the courts in which they are instituted as from that of the offences. I shall confine myself to the essential formalities.

Public actions are sometimes commenced before the senate, or before the people,[y] who, after a first decision, refer them to one of the superior courts; but, in general, the accuser addresses himself to one of the chief magistrates,[z] who puts several interrogatories to him, and asks him whether he has reflected well on the step he is about to take, if he is prepared, if it would not be to his advantage to have further

[x] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. Herald. Animadv. in Jus. Attic. lib. 3. [y] Demosth. in Mid. p. 603. Everg. p. 1058. Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 51. Harpocr. in Εἰσαγ. [z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 637. Herald. Animadv. p. 233. [a] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 314.

proofs, if he has witnesses, if he wishes to be provided with any? He apprises him, at the same time, that he must take an oath to go on with the prosecution, and that a kind of infamy is annexed to the violation of that oath. He then appoints the trial, and makes the accuser appear a second time in his presence, when he repeats the same questions; and if he still persists, his declaration remains fixed up in some public place till the judges are ready to hear the cause.[b]

The accused then puts in his plea, grounded either on a former decision, long prescription, or the incompetence of the court.[c] He may put off the trial, bring an action against his adversary, and defer for some time the judgment which he fears.

After these preliminaries, which are not practicable in all cases, the parties sware to speak the truth, and personally begin to discuss the cause. They are allowed a limited time to explain themselves, measured by drops of water falling from a vessel.[d] In general, they do but repeat what more eloquent tongues have dictated to them in private. After they have done speaking, they may solicit the assistance of orators who possess their confidence, or interest themselves in their fate.[e]

[b] Demosth. in Theocrin. p. 850. Id. in Mid. p. 619 et 620. Ulp. in Orat. adv. Mid. p. 641, 662, et 668. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 318. [c] Demosth. adv. Pantæn. p. 992. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662. Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 57. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. c. 4. [d] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 172. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 693. Schol. ibid. Demosth. et Æschin. passim. Lucian Piscat. c. 28. t. i. p. 597. [e] Demosth. in Neær. p. 863. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 424. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 461.

In the course of the trial, the witnesses give their testimony aloud. For in criminal, as well as in civil cases, it is a rule that all proceedings should be public. The accuser may require the slaves of the adverse party to be put to the torture.[f] It is scarcely possible to conceive that a barbarity so dreadful could have been exercised on men whose fidelity ought not to be tempted, if they are attached to their masters; and whose testimony cannot but be suspicious, if they are discontented with them. Sometimes one of the parties, of his own free will, presents his slaves to this inhuman proof,[g] persuaded that he has the right, as he unfortunately has the power, to commit this cruel act. Sometimes he refuses the requisition made him for this purpose,[h] either from the dread of a deposition extorted by the violence of the tortures, or that his heart listens to the remonstrances of humanity; but his refusal in this case gives room for the strongest suspicions, whilst nothing inspires a more favourable prejudice in behalf of the parties or witnesses, than when they offer, as a corroboration of what they affirm, to take an oath upon the head of their children, or of their parents.[i]

We shall only cursorily observe, that the torture cannot be inflicted on a citizen but in extraordinary cases.

Previous to pronouncing the judgment, the magis-

[f] Demosth. in Neær. p. 880; in Onet. 1. p. 924; in Pantæn. p. 993. [g] Id. in Aphob. 3. page 913; in Nicostr. page 1107. [h] Demosth. in Steph. 1. p. 977. Isocr. in Trapezit. t. ii. p. 477. [i] Demosth. in Aphob. 3. p. 913 et 917.

trate who presides at the tribunal distributes to each of the judges a white ball to acquit, and a black one to condemn, the party accused.[k] An officer apprises them that the question is simply confined to the decision of guilty, or not guilty, and they proceed to deposit their suffrages in a box. If there be a majority of black balls, the president of the court traces out a long line on a tablet covered with wax, exposed to every eye; if the white are most numerous, a shorter line;[l] and if the votes be equal, the accused is acquitted.[m]

In cases where the punishment is specified by law, this first judgment is sufficient; but when that is only expressed in the declaration of the prosecutor, the offender has a right to demand a mitigation; and this second question is decided by a new trial, to which they instantly proceed.[n]

He who, having commenced a prosecution, either drops it, or fails in obtaining the fifth part of the suffrages,[o] is generally sentenced to a penalty of one thousand drachmas.* But as nothing is so easy or so dangerous as invidious accusations on the subject of religion, the punishment of death is decreed, in

[k] Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 123. Meurs. Areop. c. 8. [l] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 106. Schol. ibid. [m] Æsch. in Ctesph. p. 469. Aristot. Problem. sect. 29. t. ii. p. 812. Id. de Rhetor. c. 19. t. ii. p. 628. [n] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timarch. p. 822. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 335. [o] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 36. Demosth. de Cor. p. 517.; in Mid. p. 610; in Androt. p. 702; in Aristocr. p. 738; in Timocr. p. 774; in Theocrin. p. 850.

* 900 livres (or 37*l.* 10*s.*) This sum was very considerable when the law was first made.

certain cases, against the man who shall accuse another of impiety without being able to convict him.[p]

Private causes are, in many points, conducted in the same mode as public prosecutions, and are, for the most part, brought in the first instance before the tribunals of the archons, who sometimes pronounce a sentence subject to an appeal,[q] and sometimes content themselves with taking the necessary informations, which they lay before the superior courts.[r]

There are causes which may be prosecuted civilly by a private accusation, and criminally by a public action. Such is the nature of an insult committed on the person of a citizen.[s] The laws, whose intention it is to provide for his safety, authorise all his fellow-citizens publicly to prosecute the aggressor; but the choice of his vengeance is left to the offended, who may sue for a sum of money if he brings a civil action, and even punish the offender with death, if he lays a criminal indictment. The orators frequently abuse these laws, by changing, by insidious artifices, those suits into criminal, which in their origin were merely civil.

Nor is this the only danger the parties have to apprehend. I have seen judges inattentive, during the reading of the documents, lose sight of the question, and give their suffrages at a venture;[t] I have seen men, powerful from their wealth, publicly insult the poorer people, who durst not demand reparation for

[p] Poll. lib. 8. c. 6. § 41. [q] Demosth. in Onet. 1. p. 920. Id. in Olymp. p. 1068. Plut. in Solon. p. 88. [r] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 641. [s] Herald. Animadv. in Jus. Att. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 128. [t] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 459.

the offence;[w] I have seen them perpetuate, in some sort, a law-suit, by obtaining successive delays, and prevent the tribunals from determining on their crimes, till the public indignation had subsided;[x] I have seen them appear in court, escorted by a numerous retinue of corrupt witnesses, and even of honest men, who, from weakness, submitted to increase the train of their attendants, and lend them the sanction of their presence;[y] I have seen them, in a word, arm the superior tribunals against subordinate judges who had refused to aid them in their unjust proceedings.[z]

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, there are so many modes of getting rid of a rival, or of taking vengeance of an enemy; so many public accusations are combined with private litigations; that it may be confidently asserted, that more causes are brought before the tribunals of Athens than before those of all the rest of Greece.[a] This abuse is inevitable in a state, which, in order to restore its exhausted finances, has frequently no other resource but that of facilitating public accusations, and of profiting by the confiscations arising from them: it is inevitable in a state in which the citizens, obliged mutually to watch each other, perpetually struggling for honours, contending for employments, and having accounts to settle with the government, necessarily assume the character of spies and censors. A multitude of informers, uni-

[w] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606. [x] Id. ibid. p. 616 et 621. [y] Id. ibid. p. 625. [z] Id. ibid. p. 617. [a] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 699.

versally odious, but at the same time formidable, inflame these intestine dissensions; disseminate suspicions and diffidence through society; and audaciously seize on the remains of the fortunes they have ruined. They have indeed against them the severity of the laws, and the contempt of virtuous men; but in their favour they have the pretext of public good, so often made an instrument in the hands of ambition and private enmity; and they have also, what is of still more avail to obtain their ends, their effrontery and their insolence.

The Athenians are less terrified than foreigners at the vices of an absolute democracy. The extreme of liberty appears to them so great a blessing, that to preserve it they sacrifice even their tranquillity. Besides, if public accusations be a subject of terror to some, they contribute to the pleasure and entertainment of the rest of the people, as they almost all take a particular delight in the chicane and artifices of the bar, to which they give themselves up with that ardour which especially characterizes them in all their pursuits.[b] Their activity derives new life from perpetual and subtle discussions of their interests; and it is possibly to this, more than to any other cause, that we are to attribute that superior penetration, and that turbulent eloquence, which distinguish the Athenians from every other people on earth.

[b] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 504. Id. in Equit. v. 1314. Schol. ibid.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Crimes and Punishments.

Some penal laws are engraven on columns placed near the tribunals.[c] If these could be so multiplied as to exhibit an exact scale of all offences, and the corresponding punishments, the judicial decisions would be more equitable, and fewer crimes would be committed against society. But no attempt has any where been made to appreciate each particular transgression; yet it is matter of universal complaint, that there is no uniform standard for the punishment of the guilty. The jurisprudence of Athens supplies, in many cases, the silence of the laws. We have already said, that when these do not specify the penalty, a previous trial is necessary to declare the culprit convicted of the crime, and a second to determine the chastisement he merits.[d] In the interval between these decisions, the judges demand of the offender to what punishment he would condemn himself. He is allowed to make choice of that which is the mildest and least injurious to his interest, though the accuser may have called for the severest and that most con-

[c] Lys. pro Cæd. Eratost. p. 17. Andoc. de Myster. p. 12.
[d] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 460. Herald. Animadv. in Jus. Attic p. 192. § 3. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 335.

formable to his anger or his hatred; the orators discuss both; and the judges, acting in some measure as arbitrators, endeavour to conciliate the parties, and establish as just a proportion as possible between the offence and the punishment.[a]

All the Athenians are liable to suffer the same punishments; all may be deprived of life, of liberty, of their country, of their property and privileges. Let us take a cursory view of these different articles.

The laws of Athens punish with death, sacrilege;[f] profanation of the mysteries;[g] enterprises against the state, and especially against the democracy;[h] deserters;[i] those who give up to the enemy a strong hold, a galley, or a detachment of troops;[k] all crimes, in short, that directly attack religion, government, or the life of an individual.

The same punishment is inflicted for robbery committed in the day, when exceeding the value of fifty drachmas;* or robbery by night of the smallest sum; for theft committed in the baths, and in the gymnasia, no matter how trifling the loss.[l]

Criminals are generally deprived of life by the

[a] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 822. [f] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450. Id. Memorab. lib. 1. p. 721. Diod. lib. 16. p. 427. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 16. [g] Andocid. de Myst. part 1. p. 1. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 33. [h] Xen. ut suprà. Andocid. de Myst. p. 13. Plut. in Publ. t. i. p. 110. [i] Suid. et Hesych. in Αυτομολ. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563. [k] Lys. contr. Philon. p. 498. * Upwards of 45 livres (or 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) [l] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 721. Demosth. in Tim. p. 791. Isocr. in Lochit. t. ii. p. 550. Aristot. Probl. sect. 29. t. ii. p. 814. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 528. Herald. Animadv. in Jus. Att. lib. 4. c. 8.

cord, the sword, or poison :[m] sometimes they are made to expire under the bastinado :[n] sometimes they are thrown into the sea,[o] or into a pit full of sharp spikes, to hasten their death ;[p] for it is considered as a species of impiety to suffer even criminals to die of hunger.[q]

The citizen accused of certain crimes is detained in prison until he is tried ;[r] if condemned to die, until his execution ;[s] the man who owes money, till he has paid his debt.[t] Some crimes are expiated by an imprisonment of several years, or a few days :[u] others only by perpetual confinement.[x] In certain cases persons accused may avoid the prison by giving bail ;[y] in others, the criminals confined there are loaded with chains, so that they are unable to move.[z]

Banishment is a punishment the more rigorous to an Athenian, as he can no where find the same enjoyments as in his own country, and the resources of friendship cannot alleviate his misfortune. A citizen who should grant him an asylum would be subject the same punishment.[a]

This proscription takes place under two remarkable circumstances : 1st, A man acquitted of an invo-

[m] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 364. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1. c. 25. [n] Lys. in Agorat. p. 253 et 257. [o] Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1360. [p] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 431. Id. in Equit. v. 1359. Schol. ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 181. [q] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 786. Schol. ibid. [r] Andoc. de Myst. part 2. p. 7 et 12. [s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. [t] Andocid. de Myst. part 1. p. 12. Demosth. in Apat. p. 933. Id. in Aristogit. p. 837. [u] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789, 791 et 792. [x] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. [y] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795. [z] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789. Ulpian. ibid. p. 818. [a] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1091.

luntary murder must absent himself for a whole year, nor return to Athens till he has given satisfaction to the relations of the deceased, and purified himself by religious ceremonies.[b] 2dly, He who, accused before the Areopagus of a premeditated murder, despairs of his cause, after a first hearing, may, before the judges proceed to give their votes, condemn himself to exile, and withdraw unmolested.[c] His property is confiscated, but his person is safe, provided he does not appear either in the territory of the republic, or at any of the solemn festivals of Greece; for, in that case, every Athenian is allowed to drag him to justice, or put him to death. This is founded on the principle that a murderer ought not to breathe the same air, or enjoy the same advantages, which were enjoyed by the person whom he has deprived of life.[d]

Confiscations are in a great measure applied to the public treasury, into which all fines are paid, after deducting a tenth part for the worship of Minerva, and a fiftieth for that of some other deities.[e]

Degradation deprives a man of all or part of the rights of a citizen; a penalty strictly conformable to the general order of things, for it is but just to compel him to renounce privileges which he has abused. This is the punishment most easily proportioned to the offence, for it is susceptible of gradations according to

[b] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 512. [c] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 99. [d] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 729 et 730. Herald. Animad. in Jus. Attic. p. 300. [e] Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 791. Id. adv. Theocr. p. 852. Id. adv. Aristog. p. 881. Id. adv. Neær. p. 861.

the nature and number of these privileges.[f] Sometimes it prohibits the offender from ascending the rostrum, from attending at the general assembly, or from taking his seat among the senators or judges; sometimes it interdicts him from entering the temples, and all participation in the sacred rites; in some cases he is forbidden to appear in the forum, or to travel in certain countries; in others, by being deprived of all his privileges, he is left with only the burthen of a life destitute of enjoyment, and a liberty which he cannot exercise.[g] This is a very heavy and highly salutary punishment in a democracy, inasmuch as the privileges forfeited by this degradation being there deemed of more importance, and held in higher estimation, than in other governments, nothing is so mortifying to a citizen as to find himself reduced below his equals. An individual in this predicament is as it were a dethroned citizen, left among society as an example to others.

This interdiction is not always attended with opprobrium. An Athenian who has introduced himself into the cavalry, without undergoing a previous examination, is punished, because he has infringed the laws;[h] but he is not dishonoured, because he has not offended against good morals. From a necessary consequence, the species of stigma disappears, when the cause

[f] Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10. [g] Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10. Demosth. Orat. 2. in Aristog. p. 832, 834, 836, et 845. Æsch. in Ctesiph. Lys. in Andoc. p. 115. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662 et 665. [h] Lys. in Alcib. p. 277. Tayl. Lection. Lysiac. p. 717.

which gave rise to it ceases to exist. He who stands indebted to the public treasury, forfeits the rights of citizenship; but he is reinstated in those rights the moment he has satisfied the claims of the state.[j] By the same train of reasoning, the republic does not blush to call to her assistance, in the hour of imminent danger, all the citizens who have been suspended from their functions.[k] But it is a necessary step previously to revoke the decree that had condemned them; and this revocation can only be effected by a tribunal composed of six thousand judges, and must be subject to conditions imposed by the senate and the people.[l]

Irregularity of conduct and depravity of manners produce another kind of ignominy which the laws have it not in their power to efface; but by uniting their authority with that of the public opinion, they take from the citizen who has lost the esteem of others, the resources he found in his rank in life. Thus, by excluding from public offices and employments the man who has ill-treated his parents,[m] the soldier who has cowardly abandoned his post, or his buckler,[n] they publicly brand him with a mark of infamy that necessarily produces remorse.

[j] Demosth. in Theocr. p. 857. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Aristog. page 843. [k] Andocid. de Myst. page 14. Demosth. adv. Aristog. p. 846. [l] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 780. [m] Laërt. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55. [n] Andocid. de Myst. p. 10.

CHAPTER XX.

Manners and Civil Life of the Athenians.

At the crowing of the cock, the inhabitants of the country enter the city with their provisions, singing ancient ballads.[o] At the same hour the shops open with no little noise, and all the Athenians are in motion.[p] Some resume the labours of their profession; others disperse themselves, in considerable numbers, among the different tribunals, to exercise the functions of judges.

Among the people, as well as in the army, it is customary to make two meals a day;[q] but persons of a certain rank content themselves with one,[r] which some eat at noon,[s] but the greater number a little before the setting of the sun.[t] In the afternoon they take a few moments sleep,[u] or play with little pieces of bone, or at dice, and games of commerce.[x]

In the first of these games they make use of four

[o] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 278. [p] Id. in Avib. v. 490. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. No. 161. [q] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 63. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 573. Demosth. in Everg. p. 1060. Theophr. Charact. c. 3. [r] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 326. Anthol. lib. 2. p. 185. [s] Athen. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 11. [t] Id. ibid. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 648. Schol. ibid. [u] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 75. [x] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 63. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.

small pieces of bone, having one of these four numbers, 1, 3, 4, and 6,[y] on each of their sides. From their different combinations result 35 throws, to which they have given the name of gods, princes, heroes, &c.[z] Some are losing, and others winning throws. The most favourable of all is that they call Venus, which is when the four bones turn up the four different numbers.[a]

In the game of dice, they likewise distinguish lucky and unlucky throws;[b] but frequently, without attending to this distinction, it is only necessary to cast a higher number than the adversary.[c] The pair-royal of six is the most fortunate throw.[d] Only three dice are employed at this game. They shake them in a dice-box, and to prevent cheating, throw them into a hollow cylinder, through which they pass, and roll upon the chequer-board.[e]* Sometimes, instead of three dice, they make use of the three little bones above mentioned.

The preceding games are games of pure chance, but the following entirely depends on judgment. On a table on which are traced lines or pyramidal points,[f]

[y] Lucian. de Amor. t. ii. p. 415. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7. § 100. [z] Eust. ad Iliad. ψ. p. 1289. Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Ἀστραγ. [a] Lucian. ibid. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 13; lib. 2. c. 21. t. iii. p. 12 et 64. [b] Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Κυβ. [c] Poll. lib. 9. c. 7. § 117. [d] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 33. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Τρισ. Ἑξ. Not. ibid. [e] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 269. Poll. lib. 7. c. 33. § 203. Id. lib. 10. c. 31. § 150. Harpocr. in Διαφεις. et in φυμ. Vales. ibid. Suid. in Διας. Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 469.

* See note XVI. at the end of the volume. [f] Sophocl. ap. Poll. lib. 9. c. 7. § 97.

they range on each side pieces, or men of different colours.[g] The skill of this game consists in sustaining one piece by the other; in taking those of the adversary, when he leaves them unguarded; or in blocking him up, so as to prevent him from advancing:[h] but he is permitted to play again when he has made a wrong move.[i]*

Sometimes the latter game is played with dice, the player regulating the moves of his men or pieces by the number he throws. In this case it is his business to know what throws will prove fatal or advantageous to him, and to profit by the favours of fortune, or by judgment correct her caprices.[k] This, as well as the preceding game, requires a number of combinations, and, to excel in it, should be practised from early youth.[l] Some persons acquire such a degree of skill, that their names become celebrated, and no persons will venture to play with them.[m]

At different times of the day, and especially in the morning, before noon, and in the evening, before supper, the company repair to the banks of the Ilissus and the environs of the city, to enjoy the extreme pureness of the air, and the delightful pro-

[g] Poll. lib. 9. c. 7. § 98. [h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 487. [i] Id. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Hesych. et Suid. in Ἀνεθ. * It is presumed that this game bore some resemblance to the game of draughts, or chess; and the following to that of back-gammon. The reader may consult Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Περτ. Buleng. de Lud. Veter. Hyde, Hist. Nerd. Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 459. [k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 604. Plut. in Pyrr. t. i. p. 400. [l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 374. [m] Athen. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 16.

spects that present themselves on every side;[n] but the usual place of meeting is the forum, the most frequented part of the whole city.[o] As it is there that the general assembly is often held, and the palace of the senate, and the tribunal of the chief archon, are situate, almost every one is attracted thither by his own private business, or the affairs of the state.[p] Many persons resort thither for amusement, and others in search of employment. At certain hours, the square, cleared from all incumbrances of the market, leaves an open field for those who wish to entertain themselves with observations on the crowd, or make a display of their own persons.

Around the square are the shops of perfumers,* goldsmiths, barbers, &c. open to every person,[q] in which the interests of the state, anecdotes of private families, and the vices or ridiculous conduct of individuals, are warmly and clamorously discussed. From amidst these groups, which, by a confused motion, are perpetually separating and re-uniting, issue a thousand ingenious or satirical pleasantries against those who mix with the company in a slovenly habit,[r]

[n] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 227 et 229. [o] Meurs. in Ceram. c. 16. [p] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. * Instead of saying, *Let us go to the perfumer's*, they said, *Let us go to the perfume*; as we say in France, *Let us go to the coffee*, and not *coffee-house*. (*Allons au caffé.*) Poll. lib. 10. c. 2. § 19. Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1372. Spanh. et Kuster. ibid. [q] Aristoph. in Equit. Lys. adv. Delat. p. 413. Demosth. in Mid. p. 606. Id. in Phorm. p. 942. Theophr. Charact. c. 11. Casaub. et Duport. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 1. scen. 2. v. 39. [r] Theophr. Charact. c. 19.

or presume to display an offensive ostentation ;[s] for this people, passionately addicted to raillery, are expert at a kind of facetiousness the more formidable, as the severity of their satire is artfully concealed under it.[t] Sometimes we meet with a select company, and instructive conversation, in the different porticoes dispersed through the city.[u] Such little parties cannot but be numerous among the Athenians. Their insatiable thirst for news, arising from the natural activity of their minds, and the idleness of their lives, forces them to seek the society of each other.

This taste, which is so predominant as to draw on them the name of Loiterers or Loungers,[x] in time of war becomes a kind of madness. Then it is, that in public, and in private, their conversations turn on military expeditions, and that their first question on meeting is, What news ?[y] Then are seen, on every side, those swarms of news-mongers, tracing out upon the ground, or on a wall, the map of the country in which the army then is,[z] loudly proclaiming its successes, and whispering its defeats ;[a] collecting and exaggerating rumours which either throw the city into the most immoderate joy, or plunge it into dread and despair.[b]

The Athenians employ their hours of peace in amusements of a more pleasing nature. As the

[s] Theophr. Charact. c. 21. [t] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 897. [u] Theophr. Charact. c. 2. [x] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1260. [y] Demosth. Philipp. 1. p. 49. [z] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199 ; in Nic. p. 531. [a] Theophr. Charact. c. 8. [b] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Id. in Garrul. t. ii. p. 509.

greater part of them cultivate their own estates, they mount their horses in the morning, and, after directing the labours of their slaves, return in the evening to the city.[c]

Their time is sometimes filled up with hunting,[d] and the exercises of the gymnasium. [e] Besides the public baths, whither the people flock in crowds, and which serve the poor as an asylum against the inclemencies of winter,[f] private persons have baths in their houses,[g] and the use of them has become so indispensable, that they are introduced even on board their vessels.[h] They frequently bathe after their walk, and almost always previous to a repast.[i] They come out of the bath perfumed with essences; and these odours mingle with those they carefully sprinkle over their garments, which are distinguished by different names, according to the difference of their form and colours.[k]

In general they are contented with throwing over a tunic that descends to the mid-leg[l] a mantle which almost entirely covers them. None but the country people, or persons without education, tuck up the different parts of their dress above the knee.[m]

Many persons go barefooted;[n] others, whether in

[c] Xenoph. Œconom. p. 831. [d] Id. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373. Aristoph. in Av. v. 1082. [e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452. [f] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 535. Schol. ibid. [g] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 116. Demosth. in Conon. p. 1110. Theophr. cap. 28. [h] Spanh. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 987. [i] Id. ibid. [k] Poll. lib. 7. c. 13. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, liv. 4. c. 5. [l] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 61. [m] Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Casaub. ibid. Athen. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 21. [n] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 229. Athen. lib. 13. c. 5. p. 583.

cord, the sword, or poison :[m] sometimes they are made to expire under the bastinado :[n] sometimes they are thrown into the sea,[o] or into a pit full of sharp spikes, to hasten their death ;[p] for it is considered as a species of impiety to suffer even criminals to die of hunger.[q]

The citizen accused of certain crimes is detained in prison until he is tried ;[r] if condemned to die, until his execution ;[s] the man who owes money, till he has paid his debt.[t] Some crimes are expiated by an imprisonment of several years, or a few days :[u] others only by perpetual confinement.[x] In certain cases persons accused may avoid the prison by giving bail ;[y] in others, the criminals confined there are loaded with chains, so that they are unable to move.[z]

Banishment is a punishment the more rigorous to an Athenian, as he can no where find the same enjoyments as in his own country, and the resources of friendship cannot alleviate his misfortune. A citizen who should grant him an asylum would be subject the same punishment.[a]

This proscription takes place under two remarkable circumstances : 1st, A man acquitted of an invo-

[m] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 364. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1. c. 25. [n] Lys. in Agorat. p. 253 et 257. [o] Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1360. [p] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 431. Id. in Equit. v. 1359. Schol. ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 181. [q] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 786. Schol. ibid. [r] Andoc. de Myst. part 2. p. 7 et 12. [s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. [t] Andocid. de Myst. part 1. p. 12. Demosth. in Apat. p. 933. Id. in Aristogit. p. 837. [u] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789, 791 et 792. [x] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. [y] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795. [z] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 789. Ulpian. ibid. p. 818. [a] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1091.

certain shrub,[a] but they set a still higher value on purple[b] and especially on the cloths of a very deep red and inclining to violet.[c]

Very light dresses are made for summer.[d] In winter some wear large robes imported from Sardes, the cloth of which, manufactured at Ecbatana in Media, is covered with thick flocks of wool, intended to defend the wearer from the cold.[e]

We likewise see stuffs embroidered with gold,[f] and others worked with the most beautiful flowers in the natural colours;[g] but these are employed only in the vestments with which they cover the statues of the gods,[h] or for the dress of the actors at the theatre.[i] To prevent modest women from wearing them, the laws direct that they shall be worn by females of loose reputation.[k]

The Athenian women paint their eye-brows black, and apply to their faces a layer of ceruse or white lead, with deep tints of rouge.[l] They sprinkle over their hair, which they ornament with flowers, a yellow-coloured powder.[m] In proportion as they wish to increase or diminish their stature, they wear higher or lower heels.[n]

[a] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 105. [b] Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 198. [c] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 100. [d] Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 716. [e] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1132. [f] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 116. [g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 557. [h] Aristot. Œcon. t. i. p. 51 Ælian. lib. 1. cap. 20. [i] Poll. lib. 4. c. 18. § 116. [k] Pe[illegible] Leg. Att. p. 477. [l] Xen. Memor. p. 847. Lys. de Cæ[illegible] Eratosth. p. 8. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 18. p. 557. Alex. ibid. [illegible] 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἔψιμ. [m] Simon. ap. Stob. serm. 7 [illegible] p. 436. [n] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2. v. 88. Hesych. in Θά[illegible] Salm. in Plin. p. 1163. [o] Lys. in Simon. p. 72. Xen. ibi[illegible] Alex. ap. Athen. ib.

Shut up in their apartments, they are deprived of the pleasure of participating in, and adding to, the pleasure of the companies assembled by their husbands. The law permits them to go out in the day only on certain occasions, and never in the night-time but in a carriage, and with a flambeau to light them ;[p] but this law, defective, because it is impossible to extend its operation to all conditions, leaves the women of the lower classes in a state of perfect liberty,[q] and is become, for those of a higher class, only a mere rule of decorum, a rule which urgency of business, on the slightest pretexts, afford them an opportunity of violating every day. There are, however, many occasions on which they may leave their retirement. Private ceremonies, to which no men have access, often assemble them among themselves;[r] and in public festivals they are present at the spectacles as well as the ceremonies of the temple. But in general they are not to appear unless attended by eunuchs,[s] or female slaves who belong to them, or are occasionally hired in order to enlarge their retinue.[t] If their dress or carriage be not decent, magistrates, appointed to watch over them, impose on them a heavy penalty, and inscribe their sentence on a tablet, which they suspend on one of the plane trees of the public walk.[x]

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90. [q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 15. tom. ii. p. 383. [r] Plut. in Pericl. tom. i. p. 157 et 160. [s] Aristoph. Lysist. v. 1. Schol. ibid. [t] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1. scen. 2. v. 87. [u] Theophr. Charact. c. 22. Casaub. ibid. [x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 112. Not. Jung. ibid.

But they are sometimes indemnified for the restraint in which they live by testimonials of a different nature. I one day met the young Leucippe, whose budding and hitherto unknown charms shone through a veil, lifted up at intervals by the wind. She was returning from the temple of Ceres, with her mother and some slaves. The young Athenians, who eagerly followed her steps, could only obtain a momentary glimpse of her; yet the next day I read on the door of her house, at the corner of the streets, on the bark of trees, and in the most public places, these words written by different hands: "Leucippe is beautiful: none is so beautiful as Leucippe.[y]"

The Athenians were formerly so jealous, that they would not permit their women to show themselves at the window.[z] They have since discovered that this excessive severity only served to hasten the evil they were so anxious to prevent.[a] Still however they are not permitted to be visited by men in the absence of their husbands;[b] and should a husband surprise his rival in the act of dishonouring him, he may put him to death,[c] or oblige him by torments to ransom his life:[d] but if the wife has only yielded to force, he can demand no more than a pecuniary fine at the discretion of the judges. It has been thought, with

[y] Eurip. ap. Eustath. in lib. ζ. Iliad. tom. ii. p. 632. Callim. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 144. Kuster. ibid. Suid. in Καλ. [z] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 792 et 804. [a] Menand. ap. Stob. serm. 72. p. 440. [b] Demosth. in Everg. page 1087 et 1060. [c] Lys. pro Cæd. Erastoth. page 15. [d] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 168. Schol. ibid.

reason, that violence, on such occasions, is less to be dreaded than seduction.[e]

The first publication of an infidelity of this nature is not the only punishment reserved for the guilty and convicted wife. She is instantly repudiated; the laws exclude her for ever from all religious ceremonies:[f] and should she venture to appear in an elegant dress, every one has a right to strip her of her ornaments, to tear her clothes, and to reproach her in the most opprobrious terms.[g]

A husband obliged to repudiate his wife, must first address himself to a tribunal in which one of the chief magistrates presides.[h] The same tribunal receives the complaints of wives who seek to be divorced from their husbands. There was it that, after long conflicts between jealousy and love, the wife of Alcibiades, the virtuous and too sensible Hipparete, appeared. While with trembling hand she was presenting the memorial setting forth her grievances, Alcibiades suddenly arrived, and taking her under his arm, without the least resistance on her part, crossed the forum with her, amidst the general applauses of the people, and led her back quietly to his house.[i] The irregularities of this Athenian were so public, that this action of Hipparete neither injured the reputation of her husband, nor her own. But in general women of a certain condition dare not apply

[e] Lys. pro Cæd. Eratosth. p. 18. [f] Demosth. in Neær. p. 875. [g] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 289. [h] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 457 et 459. [i] Andoc. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

for a divorce; and whether it be from weakness or from pride, the greater part of them rather choose to submit to unworthy treatment in private, than free themselves by an open rupture that must expose their husbands or themselves to shame.[k] It is unnecessary to add, that a divorce leaves the parties at liberty to contract a new marriage.

The rigour of the laws, however, cannot extinguish in the heart the natural desire of pleasing, which the precautions of jealousy serve only to inflame. The Athenian women, removed from all public affairs by the constitution of the government, and strongly incited to voluptuousness by the influence of the climate, often know no ambition but that of being beloved, no care but that of dress, and no virtue but the apprehension of a stain upon their honour. As they are generally extremely careful to conceal themselves beneath the veil of mystery, few of them have become famous for their gallantries.

This celebrity is reserved for the courtezans. The laws protect these women as a corrective possibly of more odious vices:[l] and the public manners are not sufficiently alarmed at the outrages they receive from them: nay, the abuse is carried to such a height as openly to wound both reason and decorum. A married woman seems only destined to superintend domestic affairs, and to perpetuate the name of a family by giving children to the republic.[m] Young

[k] Eurip. in Med. v. 236. [l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569. [m] Demosth. in Neær. p. 881.

men at their first entrance into the world, men of a more advanced period of life, magistrates, philosophers, almost all persons possessed of a tolerable income, reserve their complaisance for their kept mistresses, with whom they pass part of the day, and who sometimes bring them children, whom they adopt, and incorporate with their legitimate offspring,[n]

Some of these women, brought up in the art of seduction by females who add the force of example to the instructions,[o] vie with each other in endeavours to surpass their models. The charms of beauty and of youth, the graces of their person, elegance of dress, music, dancing, and every pleasing and polite accomplishment, a cultivated mind, happy sallies of wit, and the play of language and sentiment,[p] all are employed by them to captivate and retain their admirers; and such fascination is there in these allurements, that those they have ensnared frequently dissipate on these syrens their fortunes, and sacrifice their honour, until, abandoned for some fresh victim, they are left to drag out the remainder of their lives in ignominy and regret.

Notwithstanding the power these courtezans possess over their votaries, they must not show themselves in the streets with rich trinkets or jewels;[q] nor dare men in office appear with them in public.[r]

Besides the danger which young persons are ex-

[n] Athen. lib. 13. page 576 et 577. Pet. Leg. Att. page 141. [o] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 568. Demosth. in Neær. p. 863. [p] Athen. lib. 13. p. 577, 583, &c. [q] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 4. scen. 1. v. 13. Meurs. Them. Att. lib. 1. c. 6. [r] Terent. ib. act. 3. scen. 2. v. 42.

posed to from these women, they frequently have but too much reason to regret the time they misspend in certain destructive houses, the haunts of gamesters, and where great wagers are often made at cock-fights.[t] They have still farther to dread even the consequences of that institution which formed part of their education, and the spirit of which they misapply. Scarcely have they left the gymnasium before, animated with the desire of distinguishing themselves in the chariot and horse-races that are exhibited at Athens, and in the other Grecian cities, they abandon themselves without reserve to all these exercises. They set up rich equipages, and maintain an immoderate number of dogs and horses;[u] expenses which, added to the ostentation of their dress, soon totally dissipate the inheritance they have received from their ancestors.[x]

In general, every person walks on foot at Athens, whether in the city or the environs. The rich sometimes make use of chariots and litters, the perpetual objects of the censure and envy of their fellow-citizens;[z] sometimes they are followed by a servant carrying a folding chair, that they may sit down in the forum,[y] and as often as they are fatigued with walking.[z] The men almost always appear with a cane;[a]

[t] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 335. Æschin. in Tim. p. 268. [u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. scen. 1. v. 28. [x] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 12. [z] Dem. in Mid. p. 628. Id. in Phænip. p. 1025. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 177. [y] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1381. Hesych. in Ὀκλαδ. [z] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 310. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 74. [a] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1345. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 7. § 174.

the women very often with a parasol. At night they are lighted by a slave, who carries a flambeau ornamented with different colours.[b]

For a few of the first days after my arrival, I amused myself with examining the bills stuck up over the doors of the houses. On some of them I read: A HOUSE TO SELL;[c] A HOUSE TO LET. On others: THIS IS THE HOUSE OF SUCH A ONE, LET NOTHING EVIL ENTER.[d] I did not gratify this little curiosity for nothing; for, in the principal streets, the passenger is continually pushed, squeezed, and crowded by a multitude of people on foot and on horseback, by carters,[e] water-carriers,[f] criers of edicts,[g] beggars,[h] and labourers. One day, whilst I was with Diogenes looking at some little dogs trained to perform a number of tricks,[i] one of these labourers passing along, carrying a great beam, gave him a violent blow with it, and then cried out: "Take care."—"What," said Diogenes, "are you going to strike me a second time?"[k]

Persons not attended at night by servants, are in danger of being robbed,[l] notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates, who are obliged to take their nightly rounds.[m] The city maintains a guard of

[b] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 614. Id. in Lycistr. v. 1219. Schol. in Vesp. v. 1364. [c] Laërt. in Diog. lib. 6. § 47. [d] Id. ibid. § 39. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 843. [e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 192. [f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 17. [g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1038. [h] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 353 et 354. [i] Xenoph. de Admin. Domest. p. 855. [k] Laërt. lib. 6. § 41. [l] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 664. [m] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid.

Scythians,[n] to be in readiness to assist the magistrates to carry the judgments of the courts of justice into execution, and to preserve good order in the general assemblies and at public ceremonies.[o] They pronounce the Greek in so barbarous a manner, as to be sometimes ridiculed on the stage;[p] and are so fond of wine, as to render the expression, "to drink like a Scythian,"[q] proverbial for drinking to excess.

The people are naturally abstemious. Their chief food consists of salt meat and vegetables. Such as are unable to maintain themselves, either in consequence of wounds they have received in war, or because their misfortunes have rendered them incapable of working, are paid daily from the public treasury one or two oboli,[r] granted them by the assembly of the nation. This list of persons who are the objects of this benefaction is from time to time examined in the senate, and the names of those who are no longer entitled to receive it struck off.[s] The necessities of the poor are relieved likewise by other means. Every new moon the rich expose provisions in certain public places in honour of the goddess Hecate, which are left to the disposal of the populace.[t]

[n] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Τοξόται. Meurs. Ceram. Gem. cap. 16. Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. c. 10. § 132. [o] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 434. [p] Id. in Thesmoph. v. 1016. Schol. ibid. Demetr. de Elocut. § 96. [q] Herod. lib. 6. c. 84. Aristot. Problem. sect. 3. t. ii. p. 695. Athen. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 27. [r] Lys. adv. Delat. p. 414 et 416. Aristid. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 331. Hesych. et Harpocr. in Ἀδύν. [s] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 276. [t] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 594. Schol. ibid. Demosth. in Conon. p. 1114.

I had taken an exact account of the price of the different articles of provision, but this I have lost. I can only recollect that the usual price of corn[u] was five drachmas the medimnus.* The best ox[x] was worth about eighty drachmas;† a sheep, the fifth part of the value of an ox,[y] or about sixteen drachmas;‡ a lamb, ten drachmas.§[z]

It will naturally be imagined that these prices increase in times of dearth. The medimnus of wheat has been known to rise from five drachmas, its ordinary value, to sixteen drachmas, and that of barley as high as eighteen.[a] Independent of these transient causes, it was observed during my stay at Athens, that for about the last seventy years the price of every article had been continually rising, and that wheat in particular was then dearer by two fifths than during the Peloponnesian war.[b]

We do not here meet with such splendid fortunes as in Persia; and when I speak of the opulence and ostentation of the Athenians, it is only relatively to the other states of Greece. A small number of fa-

[u] Demosth. ad Phorm. p. 946. * 4 livres 10 sols (or three shillings and nine-pence), reckoning the drachma at 18 sols (or nine-pence), and the medimnus at something above 4 bushels (Goguet, Orig. des Lois, t. iii. p. 260), our septier (a French measure of 12 bushels) of corn would have been worth about 13 of our livres (or ten shillings and ten-pence English). [x] Marmor. Sandwic. p. 35. † 72 livres (or 3*l.* sterling). [y] Demetr. Phaler. ap. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91. ‡ About 14 livres 8 sols (or 12*s.*) § 9 livres (or 7*s.* 6*d.*) See note XVII. at the end of the volume. [z] Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 146; et lib. 8. p. 364. [a] Demosth. adv. Phorm. p. 946. Id. adv. Phænip. p. 1025. [b] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 380 et 543.

milies, however, have enriched themselves by commerce, and some by silver mines they possess at Lauricum, a mountain of Attica. The other citizens esteem themselves masters of a decent fortune, when they have estates to the value of fifteen or twenty talents,* and are able to give their daughters a marriage portion of a hundred minæ.†[a]

Though the Athenians have the intolerable fault of lending an ear to calumny, without a proper inquiry into facts,[d] they are malignant only from frivolousness; and it is a common remark, that, when good, they are better than the other Greeks, because their goodness is not a virtue of education.[e]

The common people are more rude and noisy here than perhaps any where else; but among the first class of citizens we see that decorum that impresses us with an idea that a man has a proper esteem for himself, and that politeness which has the appearance of esteem for others, universally prevail. Good company requires a propriety of language and behaviour.[f] It requires that those marks of respect, by which men are prepossessed in favour of each other, should be properly adapted to times and persons;[g] and considers an affected or precipitate carriage as a mark of vanity or levity;[h] and a blunt,

* The talent was worth 5400 livres (or 225*l.*) sterling. † 9000 livres (or 375*l.*) sterling. See note XVIII. at the end of the volume. [a] Demosth. in Steph. 1. p. 978. [d] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 799. [e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642. [f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 448. Théophr. Charact. c. 4. [g] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Spanh. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 325. [h] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 995.

sententious, or too lofty tone, as a proof of bad education or rusticity.[i] All peevish whims,[k] overstrained officiousness, disdainful airs, and studied singularities, are likewise condemned by the laws of good company.

The same laws require a certain facility of manners, equally remote from that crouching complaisance that approves every thing, and that ill-humoured austerity which nothing can please.[l] But what distinguishes good company most is a delicate and light pleasantry,[m] which unites decency with freedom; which we must pardon in others, and secure pardon for in ourselves; which few people know how to employ, and fewer still are able to understand. It consists—No, I will say no more. Those who know what it is will understand me, and it would be impossible to explain myself to others. It is characterized at present by the name of address and dexterity, because wit should never sparkle but in favour of others, and because, in its most brilliant strokes, its object should always be to please, and not to offend.[n] Yet it is often confounded with satire, coarse humour, or buffoonery;[o] for each society has its particular tone. That of good company has been almost entirely formed in our own times: as a proof of which we need only compare the ancient dramatic

[i] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 995. Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 21. t. ii. p. 572. Theophr. Charact. c. 4. [k] Theophr. Charact. c. 13, 15 et 17. [l] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Id. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 4. t. ii. p. 552. [m] Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 31. t. ii. p. 164. Id. Rhet. p. 552. [n] Arist. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 14. t. ii. p. 56. [o] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 336.

pieces with the modern. Scarcely half a century has elapsed since comedies were filled with indelicate expressions, and disgusting obscenities, which at this day would not be endured for a moment.[p]

In Athens there are several societies, the members of which enter into a mutual engagement to assist each other. If a judicial prosecution be commenced against any one of them, or if he be attacked by his creditors, he has instant recourse to the succour of his associates. In the first case, they accompany him to his trial, and serve, should it be necessary, as advocates or witnesses;[q] in the second, they advance the sum necessary to extricate him from his difficulties without requiring any interest for it, and prescribe no other time for the repayment of the loan, than the re-establishment of his fortune or his credit.[r] If he afterwards fail in his engagements, when able to fulfil them, he is not indeed liable to a prosecution, but his honour is lost.[s] They sometimes meet and cement their friendly union by entertainments, at which good humour and innocent freedom preside.[t] These associations, originally founded on noble and generous motives, are at present maintained only from unjust and interested views. The rich man, at their meetings, mixes in company with the poor, to induce them to perjure themselves in his favour;

[p] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 14. t. ii. p. 56. [q] Lys. Delat. in Obtrect. p. 159. [r] Theophr. Charact. c. 15 et 17. Casaub. in Theophr. c. 15. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 429. [s] Herald. animadv. in Salmas. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 414. [t] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 468. Duport. in Theophr. c. 10. p. 351. [u] Demosth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐραν.

and the poor man seeks the society of the rich, in order to acquire some claim to their protection.

Among the various societies of Athens, there is one whose only object is to observe and collect every species of ridiculous absurdity, and to divert itself with pleasantries and bon-mots. The members of it, to the number of sixty, are all men of extraordinary vivacity and brilliant wit: their meetings are held from time to time in the temple of Hercules, where they pronounce their humorous decrees in presence of a crowd of spectators drawn thither by the singularity of the scene; nor have the misfortunes of the state ever induced them to intermit their meetings.[x]

Two extremes of folly, among others, multiply the decrees of this tribunal. Some persons here endeavour to exceed even Attic elegance, whilst others seem to strive to surpass even Spartan simplicity. The former take especial care to have a smooth chin, frequently to change their dress, to display the polished enamel of their teeth, and to load themselves with perfumes.[y] They wear flowers at their ears,[z] carry twisted canes in their hands,[a] and wear *Alcibiades' shoes*, a kind of shoes the first idea of which was given by Alcibiades, and which are still in fashion among young people attentive to their dress.[b] The latter affect the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and are consequently charged with the *Laconomania*.[c]

[x] Athen. lib. 14. p. 614. [y] Theophr. Charact. c. 5. [z] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 553. [a] Theophr. ibid. [b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 534. [c] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1281. Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Demosth. adv. Conon. p. 1113.

Their hair hangs in disorder over their shoulders: they distinguish themselves by a coarse cloak, plain sandals, a long beard, a huge staff, a solemn gait,[d] and, if I may venture so to speak, by all the insignia of modesty. The singularities of the first, calculated only to attract attention, are less offensive than those of the second class, who make a direct attack on our esteem. I have seen this pretended simplicity treated as insolence by men of sense, and they were in the right: every exclusive pretension is a usurpation, for such pretensions evidently encroach upon the claims of others.

[d] Demosth. adv. Conon. p. 1113. Plut. in Phoc. p. 746.
[e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 13. t. ii. p. 56.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of Religion, of the sacred Ministers, and of the principal Offences against Religion.

I HERE only mean to speak of the established religion. I shall, in another place, give the opinions of philosophers on the subject of the Deity.

The public worship is founded on this law: "Honour in public and in private the gods and heroes of the country. Let every one annually offer up, according to his abilities, and the customary rites, the first fruits of his harvests."[f]

From the earliest times the objects of religious worship have multiplied among the Athenians. They received the twelve principal divinities[g] from the Egyptians;[h] and others from the Libyans and different nations.[i] In process of time a law was enacted, prohibiting, under pain of death, the introduction of any foreign worship without a decree of the Areopagus, moved for by the public orators.[k] Within the last century, this tribunal becoming less scrupulous, the gods of Thrace, of Phrygia, and some other bar-

[f] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 22. p. 380. [g] Pind. Olymp. 10. v. 59. Aristoph. in Av. v. 95. Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 54. [h] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 4. [i] Id. lib. 2. c. 50; et lib. 4. c. 188. [k] Joseph. in Appion. lib. 2. p. 491 et 493. Harpocrat. in Ἐπιθέτ.

barous people, have made an irruption into Attica,[l] and triumphantly maintained their ground, in despite of the pleasantries with which the theatre rings against these strange deities and the nocturnal ceremonies celebrated in their honour.[m]

It was a sublime institution of ancient times to consecrate, by monuments and festivals, the memory of kings and individuals who had rendered essential services to mankind. Such is the origin of the profound veneration paid to heroes. In the number of these, the Athenians place Theseus, the first author of their liberty; Erechtheus, one of their ancient kings;[n] those who merited to give their names to the ten tribes;[o] and others again, among whom we must distinguish Hercules, who is indiscriminately ranked in the class of gods and in that of heroes.[p]

The worship of the latter differs essentially from that of the gods, as well in the object as in the ceremonies. The Greeks prostrate themselves before the divinity, to acknowledge their dependence, to implore his protection, or thank him for his bounties. They consecrate temples, altars, and groves, and celebrate festivals and games in honour of the heroes,[q] to perpetuate their glory, and recal the memory of their illustrious deeds. Incense is burnt on their altars,

[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. i. p. 327 et 354. Demosth. de Cor. p. 516. Strab. lib. 10. p. 471. Hesych. in Θεοὶ ξενικ. [m] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 9. Lysist. v. 389, &c. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 15. t. iii. p. 149. [n] Meurs. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2. c. 12. [o] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 13. [p] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 44. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 37; lib. 2. c. 10. p. 133. [q] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 11.

at the same time that libations are poured over their tombs to procure repose to their manes. The sacrifices with which they are honoured by their votaries, therefore, are, properly speaking, addressed only to the infernal gods.

Secret doctrines are taught in the mysteries of Eleusis, and in those of Bacchus, and other divinities. But the established religion is wholly external. It holds out no body of doctrine, no public instruction, no rigorous injunction to participate, on stated days, in the established worship. The only faith required is to seem to believe that the gods exist, and reward virtue, either in this life, or in that to come: the only practice, to perform at intervals some religious acts, such as appearing in the temple at the solemn festivals, and sacrificing on the public altars.[r]

The religion of the common people entirely consists in prayers, sacrifices, and purifications.

Individuals address their prayers to the gods, at the beginning of any undertaking.[s] These they offer up in the morning, the evening, and at the rising and setting of the sun and moon.[t] Sometimes they repair to the temple with downcast eyes and a serious deportment,[u] and present themselves as suppliants. There is not a mark of respect, of fear, of flattery, that courtiers show to sovereigns on approaching the throne, but are testified by men towards the gods, on coming near their altars. They kiss the ground;[x]

[r] Xen. Apol. Socrat. p. 703.
[s] Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 27.
[t] Id. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 887.
[u] Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 138.
[x] Potter, Archæolog. lib. 2. c. 5.

they pray standing,[y] on their knees,[z] prostrate,[a] and holding branches in their hands,[b] which they elevate towards heaven, or stretch out towards the statue of the god, after applying it to their mouths.[c] If the worship be directed to the infernal deities, they fail not, in order to attract their attention, to strike the earth with their feet or hands.[d]

Some pronounce their prayers in a low voice. Pythagoras wished them always to be said aloud, that nothing might be asked which could excite a blush.[e] And in fact, what rule can be more excellent than that we should hold converse with the gods as if in the presence of men, and with men, as if in the presence of the gods?

In the public solemnities, the Athenians prefer, in common, their vows for the prosperity of the state, and of their allies;[f] sometimes for the preservation of the fruits of the earth, and the return of rain, or of fine weather; sometimes to be delivered from pestilence and famine.[g]

I was often struck with the splendour of these ceremonies, which present a grand and impressive spectacle. The space before the temple, and the

[y] Philostr. in Apollon. Vit. lib. 6. c. 4. p. 233. [z] Theophr. Charact. c. 16. [a] Laërt. in Diogen. lib. 6. § 37. [b] Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 3. Schol. ibid. [c] Lucian. in Encom. Demosth. § 49. t. iii. p. 526. [d] Homer. Iliad. 9. v. 564. Schol. ibid. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 2. c. 25. t. ii. p. 297. [e] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 641. [f] Theopomp. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 881. Liv. lib. 31. c. 44. [g] Eurip. in Supplic. v. 28. Procl. in Tim. lib. 2. p. 65. Thom. Gale, not. in Jamblic. Myster. p. 283.

porticos that surround it, are full of people. The priests advance under the vestibule near the altar. After the officiating priest has said, in a sonorous voice, "Let us make libations, and let us pray,"[k] one of the subordinate ministers, in order to obtain from the congregation a declaration of their devout dispositions, demands, "Who are they who compose this assembly?" "Honest people," reply they, all in concert. "Be silent then," adds he. Prayers adapted to the occasion are then recited, and presently the sacred hymns are chaunted by choruses of youths. Their voices are so harmonious, and so well seconded by the art of the poet, attentive to select moving subjects, as to draw tears from the greater part of the audience.[l] But the religious music is in general lively, and more proper to inspire joy than sorrow. Such is the impression made on us at the festivals of Bacchus, when, after one of the ministers has said aloud, "Invoke the god;" every person immediately joins in a hymn, beginning with these words: "O son of Semele![k] O Bacchus, dispenser of riches!"

Individuals weary heaven by ridiculous prayers, persecuting the gods to grant them every thing that may contribute to their ambition or their pleasures. These prayers are considered as blasphemy by some philosophers,[l] who, persuaded that men are not capable of discerning what is really for their advantage, would wish them to place their sole reliance on

[k] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 434 et 965. [l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800. [k] Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 482. [l] Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 149.

the bounty of the gods, or, at least, never to address them but in that kind of formulary handed down to us in the writings of an ancient poet: "O! thou who art the king of heaven, grant us what is useful to us, whether we ask it, or whether we ask it not! Refuse us what would be hurtful to us, even should we ask it!"[m]

Formerly sacrifices to the gods were confined to the fruits of the earth,[n] and we still see in Greece several altars on which it is forbidden to immolate any victims.[o] Bloody sacrifices were with difficulty introduced. Man felt a natural horror at plunging the steel into the breast of an animal destined to the plough, and become the companion of his labours:[p] it was prohibited, under pain of death,[q] by an express law; and universal practice induced him to abstain from the flesh of animals.[r]

The respect long entertained for ancient traditions, is evinced by a ceremony repeated every year. At a festival consecrated to Jupiter, offerings are placed on an altar, near to which several oxen are made to pass, and the ox that touches these offerings is to be the destined victim. Water is then brought in vases by young damsels; and the ministers of the god bear the instrument of sacrifice. Scarcely has the slaughterer struck the blow, before he drops the axe, and takes to flight. Mean-while his companions taste of the vic-

[m] Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 143. [n] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 6, &c. [o] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 62. Id. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600; c. 42. p. 688. [p] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 14. [q] Var. de Re Rustic. lib. 2. c. 5. [r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.

tim, sew up the hide, stuff it with hay, fasten this shapeless figure to a plough, and then go to justify themselves before judges, to whose tribunal they are summoned. The girls who have furnished the water to sharpen the instruments throw the blame on those who have actually whetted them; the latter, on the persons who have slaughtered the victim; and these again on the instruments, which are condemned as the perpetrators of the murder, and cast into the sea.[s]

This mysterious ceremony is of the highest antiquity, and perpetuates the memory of an event that occurred in the time of Erechtheus. A husbandman having placed his offering on the altar, killed an ox which had devoured part of it. He fled, and a criminal prosecution was instituted against the axe.[t] When the fruits of the earth were the only food of men, care was taken to reserve a certain portion for the gods. The same practice was continued when they began to feed upon the flesh of animals; and hence possibly the origin of bloody sacrifices, which, in fact, are only repasts offered to the gods, and of which those who are present are invited to partake.

An acquaintance with a multitude of practices and ceremonies constitutes all the science of the priests. Sometimes water is to be poured on the altar, or the head of the victims; sometimes honey or oil,[u] but in general they are sprinkled with wine; and then the wood of the fig-tree, the myrtle, or the vine,

[s] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 57. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 3. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 29. p. 154. [t] Pausan. ibid. c. 28. p. 70. [u] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 20. p. 138.

are burnt upon the altar.[x] Nor is less attention necessary in the choice of the victim, which must be without a blemish, and have no defect or disorder.[y] All animals likewise are not equally proper for sacrifice. At first, none were offered up but such as served for food, as the ox, the sheep, the goat, the hog, &c.[z] Afterwards horses were sacrificed to the sun, stags to Diana, and dogs to Hecate. Each country, each temple, has its particular usages. The aversion and predilection are equally fatal to the animals consecrated to their worship.

But why should a cake made with barley-meal and salt[a] be placed on the head of the victim? Why should the hair be plucked from its forehead and thrown into the fire?[b] Why should the thighs be burned with cloven wood?[c]

When I pressed the ministers of the temples to explain to me these rites, they gave me the same answer as the priest of Thebes, of whom I had inquired why the Bœötians offered eels to the gods: "We observe," said he, "the customs of our forefathers, without thinking ourselves obliged to give a reason for them to every stranger."[d]

The victim is shared between the gods, the priests, and those who have presented it. The portion of the

[x] Suid. in Νηφάλ. [y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 66. Schol. ibid. Aristot. ap. lib. 15. c. 5. p. 674. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437. [z] Suid. in Θυσον. Homer. Iliad. et Odyss. passim. [a] Serv. ad Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2. v. 133. [b] Homer. Odyss. lib. 3. v. 446. Eurip. in Electr. v. 810. [c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 462. [d] Athen. lib. 7. c. 13. p. 297.

deities is consumed by fire; that of the priests constitutes part of their revenue, and the third furnishes a pretext to those who receive it, to give an entertainment to their friends.[e] Some there are who, wishing to make a parade of their opulence, strive to distinguish themselves by pompous sacrifices. I have seen individuals who, after immolating an ox, decorated the fore part of its head with flowers and ribands, and had it suspended at their doors.[f] As the sacrifice of the ox is in the highest estimation, little cakes in the shape of that animal are made for the poor; and the priests are obliged to content themselves with this offering.[g]

So imperious is the sway with which superstition rules the mind, that it renders even the mildest people on earth ferocious. Human sacrifices were formerly not unfrequent among the Greeks.[h] They were common in almost every nation, and in some the practice is continued to this day;[i] but it is impossible that it should long subsist, for absurd and useless cruelties must sooner or later yield to nature and to reason. The blind confidence which man places in the external acts of religion has established a more lasting empire. The unjust, nay, the vilest of men, dare to flatter themselves with the hopes of corrupting the gods by presents, and of deceiving them by the

[e] Xen. Memor. lib. 2. p. 745. [f] Theoph. Charact. c. 21. [g] Suid. in Βους. Ἐβδ. [h] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 54. p. 197, &c. [i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.

outward show of piety.[k] In vain do philosophers declaim against so dangerous an error, which will ever be cherished by the bulk of mankind, because it will always be easier to furnish victims than to be virtuous.

The Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon, that the gods had declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, who offered to them only a small number of victims, and those lean and mutilated. The oracle replied, that not all the sacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modest prayer in which the Lacedæmonians are contented with asking the only real blessings of the gods.[l] This oracle of Jupiter reminds me of another, which reflects no less honour on that of Apollo. A rich Thessalian being at Delphi, offered up, with all the parade of ostentation, an hundred oxen with gilded horns. At the same time, a poor citizen of Hermione, drawing a handful of flour from his wallet, threw it into the flame burning on the altar. The Pythia declared that this man's worship was more acceptable to the gods than that of the Thessalian.[m]

As water purifies the body, it was imagined, from analogy, to be capable also of purifying the soul; and this effect it was supposed to operate in two ways, either by freeing it from its pollutions, or by disposing it to contract none. Hence two sorts of lustration, the one expiatory, the other preparatory. By the

[k] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 885, 905, et 906. [l] Plat. Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 148. [m] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 15. p. 126.

former, the clemency of the gods is implored; and by the latter, their assistance.

Care is taken to purify children immediately after their birth;[n] as also those who enter the temples;[o] such as have committed homicide, even though involuntary;[p] persons afflicted with certain disorders, considered as signs of the anger of heaven, such as the plague,[q] frenzy,[r] &c.; and all, in short, who wish to render themselves acceptable to the gods.

This ceremony has insensibly been applied to temples, altars, and all places supposed to be honoured by the presence of the deity; to cities, streets, houses, fields; to every place either profaned by crimes, or which it is wished should be particularly favoured by heaven.[s]

Every year the city of Athens is purified on the 6th of the month Thargelion.[t] As often as the anger of heaven is manifested against it by pestilence or famine, a ceremony is had recourse to, which is supposed to divert the calamity on a man and woman of the lower classes of the people, maintained by the state, to become, when needful, expiatory victims, each in the name of their respective sexes. These are led in procession through the streets, to the sound of instruments; and, after receiving a few stripes, are driven out of the city. Formerly they were com-

[n] Suid. et Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ. [o] Eurip. in Iön. v. 65. [p] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. [q] Laërt. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110. [r] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 118. Schol. ibid. [s] Lomey, de Lustr. [t] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 44.

mitted to the flames, and their ashes scattered in the wind.[u]

Though sea water be the best suited to purifications,[x] what is called lustral water is generally used. This is common water, in which a burning firebrand, taken from the altar at the sacrifice of a victim, has been dipped.[y] The vessels that are in the vestibules of the temples, in the places where the general assembly is held, and round the coffins in which dead bodies are exposed to the sight of passengers, are filled with this water.[z]

As metals are purified by fire; as salt and nitre* wash away filth, and preserve bodies; and smoke and agreeable odours are a security against the corruption of unwholesome air, it has gradually been conceived that these and other expedients might be employed in the different lustrations. Hence it is that a secret virtue is ascribed to the incense burnt in temples,[a] and to the flowers used to crown those who sacrifice. Hence likewise is it that a house is supposed to recover its purity by the smoke of sulphur, and by the sprinkling of a water impregnated with a few grains

[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 1133. Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran. v. 744. Schol. ibid. Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1590. Meurs. Græc. Fer. in Thargel. [x] Eurip. Iph. in Taur. v. 1193. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 108. [y] Euripid. Herc. Fur. v. 928. Athen. lib. 9. c. 18. p. 409. [z] Casaub. in Theophr. Charact. c. 16. p. 126. * Meaning natron, or soda, which is used for that purpose. Nitre, in its modern sense, is applied to saltpetre, a very different substance.—*T.* [a] Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2. scen. 2. v. 107.

of salt.[b] On certain occasions, it is deemed sufficient to turn round a fire,[c] or to see a little dog, or other animal, pass round their persons.[d] In the lustration of cities, the victims intended for sacrifice are led along the walls.[e]

The rites differ, according to the greater or less importance of the object, and the different degrees of superstition. Some hold it essential to plunge into a river; others, that it is only necessary seven times to immerse the head: but in general they are contented with dipping their hands in lustral water, or with having it sprinkled over them by a priest, who is always in waiting for that purpose at the gate of the temple.[f]

Each individual may offer sacrifices on an altar placed at the door of his house, or in a private chapel.[g] There have I often seen a virtuous father, surrounded by his children, joining in the worship of the same god, and forming vows dictated by affection, and worthy of the attention of the divinity. The functions of this kind of priesthood being limited to a single family, it became necessary to appoint ministers for public worship.

In no city are there so many priests and priestesses to be found as at Athens, as there is also none where such a number of temples are erected to the gods, or in which so many festivals are celebrated.[h]

[b] Theocr. Idyl. 24. v. 94. [c] Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ. [d] Lomey, de Lustr. c. 23. [e] Athen. lib. 14. c. 5. p. 626. [f] Hesych. in Ὑδραν. Lomey, de Lustr. p. 120. [g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 910. [h] Xen. de Rep. Athen. p. 700.

In the country towns of Attica, and every other part of Greece, a single priest only is required to officiate in a temple. In considerable cities the duties of the priesthood are shared among several persons, who form a sort of community, at the head of which is the minister of the god, who sometimes bears the title of high-priest. Under him are the Neocoros, whose business it is to superintend the decoration and cleanliness of the sacred places,[j] and to sprinkle holy water on the persons who visit the temple;[k] sacrificing-priests, who slaughter the victims; soothsayers, who consult the entrails; heralds, who adjust the ceremonies, and dismiss the assembly.[l] In some places, the name of father is bestowed on the chief of the priests, and that of mother on the principal of the priestesses.[m]

Functions of inferior sanctity, and relative to the service of the temple, are intrusted to lay officers. Some are appointed to be guardians of the treasury; and others to assist as witnesses and inspectors at solemn sacrifices.[n]

The priests officiate in rich vestments, on which are inscribed, in golden letters, the names of the benefactors to the temple.[o] This magnificence derives additional splendour from their personal beauty, their

[j] Suid. in Νεωκ. [k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 61. [l] Pott. Archæolog. lib. 2. c. 3. [m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 411. [n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 8. t. ii. p. 423. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 630. Ulp. in Demosth. p. 686. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 276. [o] Liban. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Aristog. p. 843.

majestic deportment, the sonorousness of their voices, and, above all, from the attributes of the deity whose ministers they are. Thus the priestess of Ceres appears crowned with poppies and ears of corn;[p] the priestess of Minerva, with the ægis, the cuirass, and a helmet crested with tufts of feathers.[q]

The priesthood is in many instances annexed to ancient and powerful families, and transmitted from father to son.[r] In others it is conferred by the people.[s] But in no case can this office be filled without a previous examination both of the person and morals of the candidate. It is requisite for the new priest to have no personal deformity,[t] and that his conduct should have been at all times irreproachable.[u] With respect to knowledge, it is enough if he is versed in the ritual of the temple to which he is appointed, if he is able to perform the ceremonies with decency, and to discriminate between the different species of prayers and worship to be addressed to the gods.[x]

Some temples are served by priestesses, as that of Bacchus in the quarter of the marshes. They are fourteen in number, and appointed by the king-archon.[y] Strict continence is required from them. The wife of this archon, styled the queen, initiates

[p] Call. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 45. Spanh. ib. t. ii. p. 694. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 134. Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 843. [q] Polyæn. lib. 8. c. 59. [r] Plat. de Leg. ibid. Plut. ibid. Hesych. Harpocr. et Suid. in Κυνίδ. [s] Demosth. Exord. Conc. p. 239. [t] Etymol. Magn. in Ἀφελ. [u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 263. [x] Plat. Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Harpocr. Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in Γεραρ. Poll. lib. 8. § 108.

them into the mysteries, of which they are the guardians, and obliges them, previous to being received, to take an oath, by which they solemnly affirm that they have always lived in the greatest purity, and spotless from all intercourse with man.[a]

The revenues assigned for the maintenance of the priests and temples are derived from different sources.[a] A tenth part of all penalties and confiscations is always deducted for Minerva, and a fiftieth for the other deities.[b] A tenth of all the spoils taken from the enemy is likewise consecrated to the gods.[c] In each temple, two officers, known by the name of Parasites, have the right of exacting a measure of barley from the different landholders of the district:[d] in a word, there are few temples which do not possess houses and estates.[e]

These revenues, to which may be added the offerings of individuals, are under the direction of the treasurers of the temple.[f] They are employed for the reparation and decorations of the holy places, for the expenses incurred by the sacrifices, and for the support of the priests, who almost all have salaries,[g] are provided with lodging, and entitled to certain perqui-

[a] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. [a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 66. [b] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 791. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. [c] Demosth. ib. Sophocl. Trach. v. 186. Harpocr. in Δεκατ. [d] Crates, ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 235. [e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. p. 759. Harpocr. in Απομισθ. Maussac. ibid. Taylor, in Marmor. Sand. p. 64. Chandler, Inscript. part 2. p. 75. [f] Aristot. Politic. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 423. Chandl. Inscript. not. page xv. &c. [g] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430.

sites from every victim. Some possess a more considerable revenue, as the priestess of Minerva, to whom a measure of wheat, another of barley, and an obolus, must be presented as often as any person dies, or a birth takes place in a family.[k]

Besides these advantages, the priests have an interest in maintaining the right of asylum, granted not only to the temples, but to the sacred groves in which they stand, and to the houses and chapels within their precincts.[l] A criminal cannot be torn from thence, nor even prevented from receiving his subsistence. This privilege, as offensive to the gods as it is convenient to their ministers, extends even to detached altars.[m]

In Egypt the priests form the first class of the state, without being obliged to contribute to its necessities, though the third part of the landed property be set apart for their maintenance. The purity of their manners, and the austerity of their lives, secure them the confidence of the people; and their knowledge that of the sovereign, whose council they compose, and who must be either taken from their body, or have become a member of it before he ascends the throne.[n] Interpreters of the will of the gods, and disposers of that of men, exclusive guardians of the sciences, and especially of the secrets of medicine,[o] the power they enjoy is boundless, since the prejudices

[k] Aristot. Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. [l] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 134. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. c. 14. [m] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 126. [n] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 354. [o] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 758. Laërt. lib. 3. § 6.

and weaknesses of men are under their absolute direction.

Those of Greece have obtained honours; such as distinguished places at the theatres.[n] All might, if they chose, confine themselves to the functions of their sacred ministry, and spend their days in pleasing indolence;[o] but many of them, anxious to merit by their zeal the respect due to their character, have filled the most important and burthensome offices of the republic, and served it in armies, and in embassies.[p]

They form no separate and independent body,[q] nor is there any common interest between the ministers of different temples; and in causes which personally respect them, they are amenable to the ordinary tribunals.

The nine archons, or supreme magistrates, watch over the public worship, and are always at the head of religious ceremonies. The office of the second, known by the name of king, is to prosecute for all offences against religion, to preside at the public sacrifices, and decide all contests between the sacerdotal families, on the subject of any vacant priesthood.[r] The priests may indeed direct the sacrifices of individuals; but if in these acts of piety they happen to transgress the established laws, they cannot escape the vigilance

[n] Chandl. Inscript. part 2. p. 73. Schol. in Aristoph. Ran. v. 299. [o] Isocr. de Permut. t. ii. p. 410. [p] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 85. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321. Xen. Hist. Græc. p. 590. Demosth. in Neær. p. 880. [q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 72. [r] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 90. Sigon.

of the magistrates. In our time, we have seen the high priest of Ceres punished, by order of government, for having violated these laws in articles apparently of no importance.[s]

Next to the priests, we must place those soothsayers whose profession is held in honour by the state, and who are maintained by it in the prytaneum.[t] They read futurity in the flight of birds, and in the entrails of victims. They accompany the armies; and on their decision not unfrequently depend revolutions in governments, and the operations of a campaign. They are found in every part of Greece, but the most celebrated are those of Elis. There, for many centuries past, two or three families have transmitted from father to son the art of predicting events, and of averting or suspending the calamities incident to mortals. Sometimes their answers are offered for sale to the best bidders.[u]

The soothsayers extend their ministry still farther, and take consciences under their guidance. They are consulted to know whether certain actions are or are not conformable to the divine law.[x] Some I have seen carry their fanaticism even to gloomy severity, and who, esteeming themselves the guardians of the sacred ordinances of heaven, would have prosecuted their father to death were he guilty of a murder.[y]

[s] Demosth. in Neær. p. 880. [t] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1084. Schol. ibid. [u] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 33. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 232; lib. 4. c. 15. p. 317; lib. 6. c. 2. p. 454. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. 1. c. 41. t. iii. p. 34. [x] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 4. [y] Id. ibid. p. 5.

About two or three centuries ago, certain men appeared, who, without having received any authority from the government, set themselves up as interpreters of the will of the gods, and cherished among the people a credulity they either did, or affected to possess, wandering from country to country, menacing all nations with the wrath of heaven, inventing and teaching new rites to appease it, and rendering men more weak and unhappy than they are, by disseminating terror and remorse. Some owed their high reputation to imposture, others to superior knowledge and genius. Among the number of these were Abaris of Scythia, Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Epimenides of Crete.[z]

The impression they left in the minds of men has perpetuated the reign of superstition. The people imagine they discover manifest tokens of the will of the gods, at all times, and in all places; in eclipses, in the noise of thunder, in the great phænomena of nature, in the most fortuitous events. Dreams,[a] the unexpected sight of certain animals,[b] a convulsive motion of the eyelids,[c] a tingling of the ears,[d] sneezing,[e] a few words casually dropt, and a variety of the most indifferent natural effects, are become, in their idea, so many fortunate or inauspicious omens. Do you find a serpent in your house? erect an altar on the very spot.[f] Do you see a kite hovering in the

[z] Laërt. in Epim. lib. 1. § 109. Bruck, Hist. Phil. t. i. page 357. [a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 63. Sophocl. Electr. v. 426. [b] Theophr. Charact. c. 16. [c] Theocr. Idyl. 3. v. 37. [d] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 17. [e] Aristoph. in Av. v. 721. [f] Theophr. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 4. scen. 4.

air? fall instantly upon your knees.[g] Is your imagination disturbed by uneasiness or malady? it is Empusa who has appeared to you; it is a phantom sent by Hecate, which assumes all sorts of forms in order to torment the wretched.[h]

In all these circumstances recourse is had to the soothsayers and interpreters:[i] and the remedies they prescribe are as chimerical as the imaginary mischiefs.

Some of these impostors insinuate themselves into opulent families, and avail themselves of the prejudices of weak minds.[k] They pretend to possess infallible secrets to enchain the power of evil spirits. Their promises hold out likewise three advantages extremely alluring to the rich, and which consist in fortifying them against remorse, avenging them of their enemies, and ensuring the continuance of their happiness beyond the grave. The prayers and expiations they practise on these occasions are contained in ancient rituals, which bear the names of Orpheus and Musæus.[l]

Women, of the dregs of the populace, follow the same traffic,[m] and go from house to house, among the poorer people, to distribute a kind of initiation, in which they sprinkle water on the initiated, rub him with mud and bran, clothe him in the skin of an animal, and accompany these ceremonies with formularies

[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 501. [h] Id. in Ran. v. 295. [i] Theophr. Charact. c. 16. [k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 364. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Demosth. de Cor. p. 516. Laërt. lib. 10. § 4.

read out of their ritual, and piercing shrieks that terrify and awe the multitude.

Enlightened persons, though exempt in general from these weaknesses, are not the less attached to the other ceremonies of religion. After any fortunate event, in time of sickness, or the smallest danger, at the recollection of a frightful dream, they fail not to offer sacrifices, and often build chapels in their houses, which have become so numerous, as to induce pious philosophers to wish to see them all suppressed, and that individuals might offer up their vows to heaven only in the temples.[n]

But how is it possible to reconcile the popular confidence in holy ceremonies with the ideas entertained of the sovereign of the gods? For it is permitted to consider Jupiter as an usurper, who expelled his father from the throne of the universe, and is in his turn to be one day driven from it by his son. This doctrine, maintained by the sect of the pretended disciples of Orpheus,[o] has been boldly adopted by Æschylus in a tragedy frequently represented and applauded, under the sanction of the government.[p]

I have already observed, that, within the last century, new gods have been introduced among the Athenians. I should add, that, within the same period, incredulity has made equal progress. No sooner had the Greeks received the light of philosophy, than some

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 909. [o] Procl. in Plat. lib. 5. p. 291. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 265. [p] Æschyl. in Prom. v. 200, 755 et 947.

amongst them, astonished at the irregularities and deformities of nature, were not less so at perceiving it impossible to find a solution of them in the shapeless system of religion they had hitherto taken for their guide. Doubts succeeded to ignorance, and generated licentious opinions, embraced with avidity by youthful minds:[q] but their authors became objects of the public hatred. The people alleged that they had shaken off the yoke of religion only to abandon themselves to their passions with less restraint;[r] and the government believed itself called upon to proceed with severity against them. The following are the arguments urged in justification of this intolerance.

Public worship being prescribed by one of the fundamental laws,[s] and thence closely connected with the constitution, it is impossible to attack religion without endangering that constitution. It is the duty, therefore, of the magistrates to maintain it, and to oppose all innovations visibly tending to its destruction. They subject not to censure the fabulous histories of the origin of the gods, nor philosophical opinions concerning their nature, nor even indecent pleasantries on the actions attributed to them by religion: but they prosecute and punish with death the men who speak or write against their existence; who contemptuously break their statues; or those, in fine, who violate the secret of the mysteries avowed and protected by the government.

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 886. [r] Id. ibid. [s] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 380.

Thus, while the external acts of piety are left to the regulations of the priests, and the magistrates possess the authority necessary to maintain religion, poets are left at liberty to frame new genealogies for the gods,[t] and philosophers to discuss the most delicate questions concerning the eternity of matter, and the formation of the universe,[u] provided that, in the prosecution of these subjects, they do but steer clear of two dangerous rocks: first, they must be careful not to approach too near the doctrine taught in the mysteries; and, secondly, not to advance, without modification, principles which would necessarily involve the downfal of a worship established from time immemorial. In both these cases they are prosecuted as guilty of impiety.

This accusation is the more formidable to innocence as it has more than once been employed to serve the purposes of enmity and revenge, and easily kindles the fury of a people, whose zeal is still more cruel than that of their priests and magistrates.

Every citizen may stand forth as an accuser, and lodge an information against the culprit before the second of the archons,[x] who carries the cause into the court of the Heliastæ, one of the chief tribunals of Athens. Sometimes the charge is made in the assembly of the people.[y] When it respects the mysteries of Ceres, the senate takes cognizance of it, unless the accused chooses to bring it before the Eumol-

[t] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 156. Joseph. in Appion. lib. 2. p. 491. [u] Plat. Aristot. &c. [x] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 90. [y] Andoc. de Myst. p. 2. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200.

pidæ ;[a] for this sacerdotal family, attached from the earliest ages to the temple of that goddess, still retains a jurisdiction confined in its exercise to the profanation of the mysteries, but which is remarkably severe. The proceedings of the Eumolpidæ are regulated by oral laws, of which they are the interpreters, and which deliver over the criminal not only to human punishment, but to the vengeance of the gods.[a] But he rarely exposes himself to the rigour of this tribunal.

It has happened that the accused has saved his life by declaring his accomplices; but he is still rendered incapable of participating in sacrifices, festivals, spectacles, and the privileges of the other citizens.[b] This mark of infamy is sometimes accompanied with tremendous ceremonies. These are imprecations which the priests of the different temples solemnly pronounce by order of the magistrates.[c] Turning towards the west, and shaking their purple robes, they devote to the infernal deities the criminal and his posterity.[d] From that moment the furies are supposed to take possession of his heart, and never to relax their torments but with the total extinction of his race.

The sacerdotal family of the Eumolpidæ display more zeal for the maintenance of the mysteries of Ceres, than is manifested by the other priests in favour of the established religion. They have been some-

[a] Demosth. in Androt. p. 703. Ulpian. p. 748. [a] Lys. in Andoc. p. 108. [b] Id. ibid. p. 115. [c] Liv. lib. 31. cap. 44. [d] Lys. in Andoc. p. 129.

times known to prosecute criminals before the courts of justice;[e] yet it must be admitted to their commendation, that, on certain occasions, far from seconding the fury of the people, ready to massacre on the spot individuals accused of having profaned the mysteries, they have insisted that they should be tried and condemned according to the laws.[f] Among these laws, there is one, sometimes carried into execution, and capable, doubtless, of checking the fury and injustice of the most violent enmities, were it possible to restrain them. By this law it is ordained, that either the accuser or the accused shall suffer death;—the former, if he fails in his accusation; the latter, if the crime be proved.[g]

It now remains for me to enumerate some of the principal cases in which the Athenian tribunals have pronounced sentence against the crime of impiety, within about a century.

The poet Æschylus was accused of having, in one of his tragedies, revealed the doctrine of the mysteries. His brother Amynias endeavoured to move the compassion of the judges, by showing the wounds he had received at the battle of Salamis: this expedient would probably have failed in its effect, had not Æschylus clearly proved that he had not been initiated into the mysteries. The people were waiting at the door of the tribunal to stone him.[h]

[e] Andocid. de Myst. p. 15. [f] Lys. in Andoc. p. 130. [g] Andocid. de Myst. p. 4. [h] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. c. 4. t. i. p. 461.

The philosopher Diagoras, of Melos, accused of revealing the mysteries, and denying the existence of the gods, saved himself by flight. Rewards were offered to any person who should deliver him up alive or dead; and the decree that branded him with infamy was engraven on a brazen column.[i]

Protagoras, one of the most illustrious sophists of his time, having begun one of his works with these words: "I know not whether there be gods, or whether there be not;" was criminally prosecuted, and obliged to fly. His writings were sought for in private houses, and burnt in the forum.[k]

Prodicus, of Ceos, was condemned to drink poison, for having asserted that men had placed among the number of the gods all objects from which they derived utility; such as the sun, the moon, fountains, &c.[l]

The faction which opposed Pericles not daring openly to attack him, resolved to effect his ruin by indirect means. He was the friend of Anaxagoras, who admitted one Supreme Intelligence. In virtue of a decree enacted against all who deny the existence of the gods, Anaxagoras was dragged to prison. On his trial he had only a few more suffrages in his favour than his accuser, and for these he was indebted to the prayers and tears of Pericles, who sent him out

[i] Lys. in Andoc. p. 111. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 323. Id. in Av. v. 1073. Schol. ibid. [k] Laërt. lib. 9. c. 52. Joseph. in Appion. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 493. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 23. t. ii. p. 416. [l] Cicer. ibid. c. 42. t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Phys. lib. 9. p. 552. Suid. in Προδ.

of Athens. But for the influence of his patron, the most religious of philosophers would have been stoned to death as an atheist.[m]

At the time of the Sicilian expedition, and at the moment that Alcibiades was embarking the troops under his command, the statues of Mercury, placed in different quarters of Athens, were found all mutilated in one night.[n] The whole city was instantly thrown into consternation. Views of a more profound nature were imputed to the authors of this impiety, which was regarded as the work of faction. The people immediately assembled: and witnesses appeared who charged Alcibiades with disfiguring the statues, accusing him at the same time with celebrating the mysteries of Ceres in private houses,[o] with the companions of his debaucheries. The soldiers, however, loudly taking the part of their general, his trial was suspended for that time: but scarcely had he landed in Sicily, before his enemies resumed the charge,[p] informers multiplied, and the prisons were filled with citizens devoted to destruction by injustice. Several were put to death, and others escaped only by flight.[q]

In the course of these proceedings an incident occurred, that evinces the excess to which the people carry their blind resentment. One of the witnesses being interrogated by what means he could distin-

[m] Hermip. et Hieron. ap. Laërt. 1, 2. § 13. Plut. de Profect. t. ii. p. 84. Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 14. c. 14. [n] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. [o] Andoc. de Myst. p. 3. [p] Plut. ibid. p. 201. [q] Andoc. ibid.

guish the persons in question in the night, answered: By the light of the moon. It was proved, however, that there was then no moon; yet this glaring perjury, which filled every honest citizen with dismay,[r] only served to increase the fury of the people.

Alcibiades, summoned before this unworthy tribunal, when on the point of making himself master of Messina, and perhaps of all Sicily, refused to make his appearance, and was condemned to die.[s] His estates were sold, and the decree proscribing him and branding his name with infamy, was engraven upon a column.[t] The priests of all the temples had orders to pronounce against him the most horrible imprecations; and all obeyed except the priestess Theano, whose answer was more worthy of being preserved on a column than the popular decree: "I was appointed to my office," said she, "to procure for men the blessings, and not to pronounce on them the curses, of heaven."[u]

Alcibiades having offered his services to the enemies of his country, reduced the Athenians to the very brink of ruin. When they found it at length necessary to recal him, the priests of Ceres opposed his return,[u] but were at last constrained to absolve him from the imprecations with which they had loaded him; the chief of the sacred ministers, however, artfully expressed himself in the following

[r] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 201. [s] Nep. in Alcib. c. 4. [t] Plut. ibid. p. 202. Id. Quæst. Rom. t. ii. p. 275. [u] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 53.

remarkable terms: "I have not cursed Alcibiades, if he were innocent."[x]

Some time after occurred the prosecution against Socrates, in which religion was only the pretext, as I shall hereafter demonstrate.

Nor are the Athenians more indulgent to the crime of sacrilege. The laws punish this offence with death, and deprive the body of the criminal of the rites of sepulture.[y] This punishment, which some philosophers, in other respects enlightened, do not consider as too severe,[z] is extended, by the false zeal of the Athenians, even to the slightest transgressions. Incredible as it may appear, citizens have been condemned to die, some for having pulled up a shrub within the precincts of a sacred wood; and others for having killed I know not what bird, consecrated to Æsculapius.[a] But I shall relate a still more dreadful instance of severity. A leaf of gold having fallen from the crown of Diana, was picked up by an infant. The child was so very young, that it was necessary to make trial of his discernment. The leaf of gold, therefore, with some dice, some play-things, and a large piece of money, were presented to him; and the child having given the preference to the money, the judges declared this to be a sufficient proof of his capacity of guilt, and caused him to be put to death.[b]

[x] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427. [z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 854. [a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 17. [b] Id. ibid. c. 16. Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 75.

CHAPTER XXII.

Journey through Phocis.—The Pythian Games.—The Temple and Oracle of Delphi.*

I SHALL frequently speak of the festivals of Greece; I shall often return to those august solemnities which unite the various nations of this happy country. As they all have many striking features of resemblance to each other, I may possibly be reproached with retracing the same pictures. But what are the narratives of the writers who recount to us the wars of nations, but an uniform succession of scenes of blood and slaughter? and what pleasure can we derive from descriptions that exhibit men only in the convulsions of fury or despair? Is it not a more useful and more pleasing task to follow them in the hour of peace and liberty; in those combats which exhibit and expand their mental powers and their personal graces; in those festivals in which taste displays all its resources, and pleasure all its charms?

Those moments of happiness, so wisely contrived to suspend national animosities,[c] and invite individuals to forget their sorrows; those moments so pleasing in anticipation from the hope of seeing them renewed, and so delicious from the impression that perpetuates

* See the map of Phocis.

[c] Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 139.

them in the mind when they are past and gone; those rapturous moments I have more than once enjoyed, and, I freely confess, have shed tears of delight, at the sight of thousands of my fellow-creatures, united by the same interest, abandoning themselves in concert to the most lively joy, and giving free course to those affecting emotions which form the sublimest spectacle to a soul endowed with sensibility. Such is the scene presented by the Pythian games, celebrated every four years at Delphi in Phocis.

We set out from Athens about the end of the month Elaphebolion, in the third year of the 104th Olympiad.* We repaired to the isthmus of Corinth, and there, embarking at Pagæ, entered the gulf of Crissa, the very day the festival commenced.†

Preceded and followed by a great number of light vessels, we made the harbour of Cirrha, a small town situated at the foot of Mount Cirphis. Between this mount and Parnassus runs a long valley, in which chariot and horse races are held. The Plistus flows through it amidst charming meadows,[d] which were then enamelled with all the various colours of the spring. After visiting the Hippodromus,[e] we took one of the paths leading to Delphi.‡

* The beginning of April in the year 361 before Christ.
† These games were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, in the beginning of the month Munychion, which in the year I have chosen began on the 14th of April. (Corsin. Diss. Agonist. in Pyth. Id. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 287. Dodwell de Cycl. p. 719.) [d] Pind. Pyth. od. 10. v. 23. Argum. Pyth. p. 163. Pausan. lib. 10. p. 817. [e] Pausan. ibid. cap. 37. p. 893. ‡ See the plan of Delphi and its environs.

The city presented itself to our view in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of the mountain.[f] Already we discovered the temple of Apollo, and that prodigious quantity of statues which are scattered, in every various direction, through the edifices that embellish the town. The gold, with which most of them are covered, reflecting the rays of the rising sun, shone with a refulgence that was visible at a great distance.[g] At the same time were seen, slowly advancing in the plain and over the hills, processions composed of boys and girls, which seemed to dispute with each other the palm of magnificence and beauty. From the mountain heights, and from the sea-coasts, an immense multitude were all hurrying toward Delphi; and the serenity of the day, joined to the mildness of the air in this climate, added new charms to the pleasing impressions made on our senses from every quarter.

Parnassus is a chain of mountains stretching towards the north, and on the southern side terminating in two points, under which stands the city of Delphi, which is only sixteen stadia in circumference.[h]* It is not defended by walls, but by precipices, which environ it on three sides.[i] It is placed under the protection of Apollo; and with the worship of this god is united that of some other deities, who are termed the associates of his throne. These are

[f] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418. [g] Justin. lib. 24. c. 7. [h] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418. * A little more than a mile and three quarters. [i] Justin. lib. 24. c. 6.

Latona, Diana, and Minerva-Providens: their temples are at the entrance of the city.

We stopped for a moment at that of Minerva, and saw, in the inside, a golden buckler presented by Crœsus, king of Lydia; and without, a large brazen statue consecrated by the citizens of Marseilles, in Gaul, in commemoration of advantages gained by them over the Carthaginians.[k] After passing near the gymnasium, we found ourselves on the brink of the Castalian fountain, the sacred waters of which are used to purify both the ministers of the altars, and the votaries who come to consult the oracle.[l] From thence we ascended to a temple, situate in the upper part of the town,[m] which is surrounded by a vast enclosure, filled with precious offerings made to the divinity.

Nations and kings who receive favourable answers, gain victories, or are delivered from impending misfortunes, think it incumbent on them to erect, at this place, monuments of their gratitude. Individuals crowned at the public games of Greece, and all persons who have been eminently useful to their country, or rendered illustrious by their genius or abilities, have monuments erected to their honour. Here the traveller finds himself surrounded by a people of heroes, and reminded of the most remarkable events of history. Here the art of sculpture shines with greater splendour than in any other part of Greece.

[k] Pausan. lib. 10. p 817. [l] Eurip. in Ion. v. 94. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2. p. 107. [m] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 818.

As we are about to begin our examination of this immense collection of sacred riches, a Delphian, named Cleon, offered his services to us as a guide. He was one of those interpreters of the temple, whose sole occupation is to satisfy the eager curiosity of strangers.[n] But as Cleon, by continually expatiating on the most unimportant details, exhausted more than once his stock of knowledge and our patience, I shall abridge his recital, and frequently expunge the marvellous with which he delighted to embellish his narrations.

The first object we saw, on entering the enclosure,[o] was a superb brazen bull. This bull, said Cleon, was sent by the inhabitants of Corcyra, and is the work of Theopropus of Ægina. The nine statues you next see were presented by the Tegeatæ, after they had vanquished the Lacedæmonians; among them you discover Apollo, Victory, and the ancient heroes of Tegea. Those opposite to them were given by the Lacedæmonians, after Lysander had defeated the Athenian fleet near Ephesus. The seven first represent Castor and Pollux, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Lysander, who is receiving a crown from the hand of Neptune; the eighth is for Abas, who was soothsayer in the army of Lysander; and the ninth for Hermon, pilot of the galley commanded by the general. Lysander having some time after gained a second naval victory over the Athenians, at Ægos

[n] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 395. Lucian. in Philopseud. § 4 t. iii. p. 32. Id. in Calumn. p. 132. [o] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 9. p. 818.

Potamos; the Lacedæmonians immediately sent to Delphi the statues of the principal officers of their army; and of the chiefs of the allied troops. They are twenty-eight in number; you see them behind those of which I have just spoken.[p]

That horse in brass is a present of the Argives. The inscription on the pedestal informs you that the statues which surround it are the produce of the tenth part of the spoils taken from the Persians by the Athenians in the plains of Marathon. They are thirteen in number, and all by the hand of Phidias. Observe with what sublimity he has exhibited to us Apollo, Minerva, Theseus, Codrus, and several of those ancient Athenians, who merited the honour of giving their names to the tribes of Athens. Miltiades, who gained the battle, shines conspicuous amidst these gods and heroes.[q]

The nations that make such offerings, frequently add to the images of their generals those of their kings, and individuals who have gained to themselves immortal glory. You have another example of this in that group of twenty-five or thirty statues, consecrated by the Argives at different periods, and for different victories. This is the statue of Danaus, the most powerful of the kings of Argos; this, of Hypermnestra, his daughter; that other, of his son-in-law Lynceus. Here are the principal chiefs who followed Adrastus, king of Agos, in the first Theban

[p] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 9. p. 818. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 443.
[q] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 10. p. 821.

war; there the leaders who distinguished themselves in the second: here you see Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Amphiaraus in his car, with his kinsman Baton, who is holding the reins.[r]

It is impossible to proceed a single step without being stopped by master-pieces of art. Those horses in brass, those dejected captives, are the work of Ageladas of Argos, and a present from the people of Tarentum in Italy. This figure represents Triopas, the founder of the Cnidians in Caria; those statues of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, shooting their arrows against Tityus, are an offering of the same people.

This portico, in which so many beaks of ships, and brazen bucklers are suspended, was built by the Athenians.[s] There is the rock on which an ancient sibyl, named Herophila, is said to have pronounced her oracles.[t] That statue with a breast-plate and coat of mail was sent by the people of Andros, and represents their founder Andreus. The Phocians have consecrated this Apollo, as well as this Minerva, and that Diana; the people of Pharsalos in Thessaly, that equestrian statue of Achilles; the Macedonians, this Apollo, who is holding a hind; the Cyreneans, that car in which Jupiter appears with all the majesty of the sovereign of the gods; and, lastly, the conquerors at Salamis, that statue twelve cubits high,* holding an ornament of a ship, which you see near the gilded statue of Alexander the First, king of Macedon.[x]

[r] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 10. p. 822. [s] Id. c. 11. p. 825. [t] Id. c. 12. p. 825. [u] Id. c. 13. p. 829. * 17 French feet (or 18 English). [x] Herodot. lib. 8, c. 121.

Among this prodigious number of monuments have been erected several small edifices, to which nations and individuals have transmitted considerable sums, either as offerings to the god, or by way of depositing them in a place of safety. When they are only intended as a deposit, care is taken to inscribe the name of the persons to whom the treasure belongs, that they may have recourse to it in case of need.[y]

We visited the treasuries of the Athenians, the Thebans, the Cnidians, the Syracusans, &c.[z] and were convinced that report had not exaggerated when it was affirmed, that we should find more gold and silver at Delphi than is contained probably in all the rest of Greece.

In the treasury of the Sicyonians, among other singularities, we saw a golden book presented by a woman named Aristomache, who had won the prize of poetry at the Isthmian games.[a] They showed us, in that of the Siphnians, a great quantity of gold, the produce of the mines they worked formerly in their island;[b] and in that of the inhabitants of Acanthus, some iron obelisks, presented by Rhodope the courtezan.[c] Is it possible, exclaimed I, that such an offer could have been acceptable to Apollo? Stranger, said a Greek, whom I did not know, to me, Were the hands that raised these trophies more pure? You have just read on the gate of the asylum in which

[y] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 349. [z] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 11. p. 823. [a] Plut. Sympos. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 675. [b] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 11. p. 823. [c] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 400.

we now are: THE INHABITANTS OF ACANTHUS VANQUISHERS OF THE ATHENIANS;[d] and elsewhere, THE ATHENIANS VANQUISHERS OF THE CORINTHIANS; THE PHOCIANS OF THE THESSALIANS; THE ORNEATÆ OF THE SICYONIANS, &c. These inscriptions were written with the blood of a million of Greeks. The god is surrounded only with monuments of our folly and madness;[e] and you are astonished that his priests should accept the offering of a courtezan!

The richest of all the treasuries is the Corinthian. In that is preserved the greater part of the offerings made by different princes to the temple of Apollo. We there found the sumptuous presents of Gyges king of Lydia, among which the most remarkable are six large crateræ of gold,* of the weight of thirty talents.[f]†

The liberality of this prince, said Cleon to us, was entirely eclipsed by the munificence of Crœsus, one of his successors, who, on consulting the oracle, was so well satisfied with the answer he received, that he sent to Delphi, 1st, one hundred and seventeen semiplinths‡ of gold, a palm thick; most of them six palms in length, and three broad; each

[d] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 433. [e] Plut. de Pyth. ut supra. * The crateræ were large vases in the shape of cups, in which the ancients mixed their wine and water. [f] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 14. † See, as well respecting this article as the following, the table of Attic weights, and note XIX. at the end of the volume. ‡ By plinth is generally understood an architectural ornament, consisting of a member, in the form of a small square tablet.

weighing two talents, except four which weighed only a talent and a half. You will see them in the temple. By the manner in which they were disposed, they served as a base for a lion of the same metal, which fell down at the time the temple was burnt, which happened a few years after. You have it before your eyes. It then weighed ten talents; but since it has been damaged by the fire, it now weighs no more than six and a half.[g]

2dly. Two large crateræ, the one of gold, weighing eight talents and forty-two minæ; the other of silver, containing six hundred amphoræ. You have seen the first in the treasury of the Clazomenians; the second you will see in the vestibule of the temple.[h]

3dly. Four silver vases in the shape of barrels, and of a very considerable size.[i] You see all the four in this place.[k]

4thly. Two large ewers, one of gold, the other of silver.[l]

5thly. A golden statue, representing, it is said, the woman who made the bread of this prince. The statue is three cubits high, and weighs eight talents.[m]

6thly. To these offerings Crœsus added a number of silver ingots, the necklaces and girdles of his wife, and other not less valuable presents.

[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 452. [h] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 51. [i] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 459. [k] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 51. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 401.

Cleon next shewed us a golden cratera sent by the city of Rome, in Italy, to Delphi;[n] and afterwards the necklace of Helen.[o] We enumerated likewise, in the temple, and in the different treasuries, three hundred and sixty phials or cups of gold, each weighing two minæ.[p]*

All these treasures, together with those I have not mentioned, amount to a prodigious sum, of which some idea may be formed from the following fact. Some time after our journey to Delphi, the Phocians seized on the temple, and the gold and silver which they melted into bullion, were estimated at upwards of ten thousand talents.[q]†

On coming out of the Corinthian treasury, we continued to run over the monuments of the sacred precinct. Here, said Cleon, is a group that merits your attention. Observe with what rage Apollo and Hercules are disputing for a tripod, and with what earnestness Latona and Diana endeavour to restrain the former, and Minerva the latter.[r] These five statues, executed by three artists of Corinth, were consecrated in this place by the Phocians.[s] This tripod, ornamented with gold, and supported by a brazen dragon, was offered by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa.[t] The Tarentines of Italy, after some advan-

[n] Liv. lib. 5. c. 28. Plut. in Camill. t. i. p. 133. [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 458. [p] Id. ibid. p. 452. * 2 pounds 3 ounces. [q] Diod. Sic. lib. 26. p. 453. † More than fifty-four millions of livres (or above two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling). [r] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 13. p. 830. [s] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 27. [t] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 13. p. 830.

tages gained over their enemies, sent these equestrian, and those other pedestrian statues. They represent the principal chieftains of the victors and the vanquished.[u] The brazen wolf, which you see near the principal altar,[x] is the gift of the inhabitants of Delphi; and that palm-tree, and this Minerva, of the same metal, the offering of the Athenians. The Minerva formerly was gilt, as well as the fruit of the palm-tree; but about the time of the expedition into Sicily, some ravens gave a presage of the defeat of the Athenians, by plucking off the fruit from the tree, and piercing the buckler of the goddess.[y]

As we seemed to entertain some doubt respecting this fact, to corroborate it Cleon added: Why, was not this column, which stood near the statue of Hiero, king of Syracuse, thrown down the very day of the death of that prince? Did not the eyes fall out from the statue of that Spartan, a few days before he perished at the battle of Leuctra?[z] and, about the same time, did not the two golden stars which Lysander had dedicated in honour of Castor and Pollux disappear?[a]

These examples had such an effect upon us, that, to avoid being overwhelmed with others, we resolved to leave Cleon in peaceable possession of his fables. Mark well, continued he, the marble that covers the ground on which you tread. This is the central point

[u] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 13. p. 830. [x] Id. ibid. c. 14. p. 832. [y] Plut in Nic. t. i. p. 531. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 15. p. 834. [z] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. [a] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 34. t. iii. p. 29.

of the whole earth;[b] the point that is equidistant from the places where the sun rises, and those where he sets. It is said that, to discover this, Jupiter dispatched two eagles from those two extremities of the world, which met together precisely at the spot.[c]

Cleon did not spare us a single inscription; but principally directed our attention to the oracles pronounced by the priestess, which are studiously exposed to the eyes of the public;[d] takingcare to lay particular stress on such as had been justified by the event.

Among the offerings of the kings of Lydia, I forgot to speak of a large silver cratera, sent by Alyattes, the base of which still excites the admiration of the Greeks,[e] perhaps from its proving the recency of the arts in Greece. This base is of iron, in the form of a tower, and wider at the bottom than at top; it is of perforated work, and several animals at play are seen through the foliage with which it is ornamented. The different parts of it are not joined by nails; it is one of the first works in which solder was used. It is attributed to Glaucus of Chios, who lived near two centuries ago, and first discovered the secret of soldering iron.

Our attention was attracted by an infinity of other monuments. We had seen the statue of Gorgias the

[b] Æschyl. in Choeph. v. 1036. Eurip. in Orest. v. 330; in Phœniss. v. 244; in Ion. v. 223. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 427. [c] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 835. Pindar. Pith. 4. v. 6. Schol. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 419. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 409. [d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 428. Vand. de Orac. p. 138 et 175 [e] Herodot. lib. c. 35. Pausan. lib. 10. p. 834. Plut. de Orac Def. t. ii. p. 436. Hegesand. ap. Athen. lib. 5. p. 210.

rhetorician,[f] and the innumerable statues of the victors in the different games of Greece. But if the eye be struck with the magnificence of such a quantity of offerings collected together at Delphi, it is not less astonished at the excellence of their workmanship;[g] for almost all of them have been consecrated in the last or present century, and were in general executed by the noblest sculptors that have appeared in both ages.

From the sacred precinct, we entered the temple, which was built about a hundred and fifty years ago,[h]* the ancient one having been destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt by order of the Amphictyons;† and the architect, Spintharus of Corinth, undertook to finish it for the sum of three hundred talents.‡ Three fourths of that sum were raised by a tax on the different cities of Greece, and the other fourth by the inhabitants of Delphi, who, in order to furnish their contingent, made a collection of pious donations even in the remotest countries. An Athenian family added likewise, at its own expense, several embellishments not in the original plan.[i]

[f] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11, c. 15. p. 505. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 32. t. i. p. 310. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 18. p. 842. Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 15. in extern. [g] Strab. lib. 9. p. 419. [h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 150. * About the year 513 before Christ. † These were deputies from different cities, who assembled every year at Delphi, and had the inspection of the temple. I shall speak of them hereafter. ‡ 1,600,000 livres (66,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); but the talent being of greater value at that time than afterwards, something may be added to this estimation. [i] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 180; lib. 5. c. 62. Pausan. lib. 10. p. 811.

The edifice is built of a very beautiful stone, but the frontispiece is of Parian marble. On the pediment two Athenian sculptors have represented Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, Bacchus, and other divinities.[k] From the capitals of the column are suspended several kinds of gilded armour, and especially bucklers offered by the Athenians in memory of the battle of Marathon.[l]

The vestibule is decorated with paintings which represent the battle of the giants and the gods, the combat between Hercules and the Hydra, and that of Bellerophon with the Chimæra.[m] We see there likewise a number of altars,[n] a bust of Homer,[o] some vessels of lustral water,[p] and other large vessels for mixing the wine and water made use of in libations.[q] On the wall are inscribed several short sentences, some of which are attributed to the seven Grecian sages. They contain moral maxims, and have the appearance of admonitions given by the gods to all who come to worship them.[r] The divinity himself seems to say, KNOW THYSELF. TOO MUCH OF NOTHING. MISFORTUNE CLOSELY PURSUES THEE.

A word of two letters, placed over the gate, has given occasion to various explanations; but the most skilful interpreters discover in it a profound meaning. Its real signification is, THOU ART; a confession of

[k] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 19. p. 842. [l] Id. ibid. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 446. [m] Eurip. in Ion. v. 190. [n] Id. ibid. v. 1186. [o] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 19. p. 857. [p] Heliod. Æthiop. [q] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 51. [r] Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 124 et 129. Id. in Charm. p. 164. Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 796. Pausan. lib. 10. p. 857. Plin. lib. 7. c. 32. p. 393.

the nothingness of man, and an homage worthy of the divinity, to whom alone appertains existence.[t]

In the same place we read, on a tablet suspended on the wall, these words, inscribed in large characters: LET NO ONE APPROACH THESE PLACES, BUT WITH PURE HANDS.[t]

I shall not stop to describe the interior riches of the temple; they may be judged of from those of the outside. I shall only observe, that we there see a colossal statue of Apollo, in brass, consecrated by the Amphictyons;[u] and that, amid the statues of the gods, the seat in which Pindar sang the hymns he had composed in honour of Apollo is preserved, and shown to those who visit the temple.[x] Such circumstances I particularly notice, to show how highly genius is honoured by the Greeks.

Within the sanctuary is the statue of Apollo, in gold;[y] and that ancient oracle, the answers of which have so often decided on the fate of empires. The discovery of this was made by accident. Some goats straying among the rocks of Mount Parnassus, and approaching a fissure in the earth that emitted unwholesome exhalations, are said to have been suddenly affected with extraordinary and convulsive motions.[z] The shepherds and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, flocking to see this prodigy, breathed

[t] Plut. de El. t. ii. p. 384. [t] Lucian. de Sacrif. § 13. t. i. p. 536. Id. in Hermot. § 11. t. i. p. 750. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 438. [x] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 24. p. 858. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 433. Pausan. ib. c. 5. p. 809. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427.

the same vapour, experienced the same effects, and, in their delirium, pronounced broken and unconnected phrases. These words were instantly taken for predictions, and the vapour of the cavern was supposed to be a divine breath which unveiled the secrets of futurity.[a]*

Several ministers are employed in the temple. The first who presents himself to the eyes of strangers is a young man, frequently educated from his earliest years close to the very altar, and always obliged to live in the most scrupulous continence. It is his office to attend to the cleanliness, as well as decoration, of the holy places.[b] As soon as day appears, he repairs, followed by the persons who work under his orders, to a little sacred wood, to gather branches of laurel, and form them into crowns, which he affixes to the gates and walls, and hangs round the altars and the tripod, whence the Pythia pronounces her oracles; he draws water from the fountain Castalia, to fill the vases in the vestibule, and to sprinkle within the temple; he next takes his bow and quiver to chase away the birds that perch upon the roof of the edifice, or on the statues which are within the sacred precinct.

The functions of the prophets are of a more exalted kind; they station themselves near the Pythia,[c] collect, arrange, and interpret her answers, some-

[a] Plin. lib. 2. c. 93. p. 116. * See note XX at the end of the volume. [b] Eurip. in Ion. v. 95, &c. [c] Van Dale de Orac. p. 104. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 186.

Among this prodigious number of monuments have been erected several small edifices, to which nations and individuals have transmitted considerable sums, either as offerings to the god, or by way of depositing them in a place of safety. When they are only intended as a deposit, care is taken to inscribe the name of the persons to whom the treasure belongs, that they may have recourse to it in case of need.[y]

We visited the treasuries of the Athenians, the Thebans, the Cnidians, the Syracusans, &c.[z] and were convinced that report had not exaggerated when it was affirmed, that we should find more gold and silver at Delphi than is contained probably in all the rest of Greece.

In the treasury of the Sicyonians, among other singularities, we saw a golden book presented by a woman named Aristomache, who had won the prize of poetry at the Isthmian games.[a] They showed us, in that of the Siphnians, a great quantity of gold, the produce of the mines they worked formerly in their island;[b] and in that of the inhabitants of Acanthus, some iron obelisks, presented by Rhodope the courtezan.[c] Is it possible, exclaimed I, that such an offer could have been acceptable to Apollo? Stranger, said a Greek, whom I did not know, to me, Were the hands that raised these trophies more pure? You have just read on the gate of the asylum in which

[y] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 349. [z] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 11. p. 823. [a] Plut. Sympos. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 675. [b] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 11. p. 823. [c] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 400.

we now are: THE INHABITANTS OF ACANTHUS VANQUISHERS OF THE ATHENIANS;[d] and elsewhere, THE ATHENIANS VANQUISHERS OF THE CORINTHIANS; THE PHOCIANS OF THE THESSALIANS; THE ORNEATÆ OF THE SICYONIANS, &c. These inscriptions were written with the blood of a million of Greeks. The god is surrounded only with monuments of our folly and madness;[e] and you are astonished that his priests should accept the offering of a courtezan!

The richest of all the treasuries is the Corinthian. In that is preserved the greater part of the offerings made by different princes to the temple of Apollo. We there found the sumptuous presents of Gyges king of Lydia, among which the most remarkable are six large crateræ of gold,* of the weight of thirty talents.[f]†

The liberality of this prince, said Cleon to us, was entirely eclipsed by the munificence of Crœsus, one of his successors, who, on consulting the oracle, was so well satisfied with the answer he received, that he sent to Delphi, 1st, one hundred and seventeen semiplinths‡ of gold, a palm thick; most of them six palms in length, and three broad; each

[d] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 433. [e] Plut. de Pyth. ut supra. * The crateræ were large vases in the shape of cups, in which the ancients mixed their wine and water. [f] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 14. † See, as well respecting this article as the following, the table of Attic weights, and note XIX. at the end of the volume. ‡ By plinth is generally understood an architectural ornament, consisting of a member, in the form of a small square tablet.

the prize is a hymn to Apollo,[o] which the author himself sings, accompanied with his cithara. Harmony of voice, and the art of sustaining it by melodious sounds, have such influence on the opinion of the judges and hearers, that, for want of these two advantages, Hesiod was formerly excluded from the competition; whilst other authors, by uniting them in an eminent degree, have obtained the prize, though they appeared with works not of their own composition.[p] The poems we heard possessed great beauties, and that which received the crown was so violently applauded, that the heralds were under the necessity of commanding silence. We then saw the players on the flute advance.

The subject usually proposed is the combat of Apollo with the serpent Python, and it is an indispensable requisite in the composition, that the five leading circumstances of the conflict may be distinguished.[q] The first part is but a prelude; the action commences in the second, and becomes animated and terminates in the third; in the fourth are heard the shouts of victory; and in the fifth the hissings of the monster before he expires.[r]

No sooner had the Amphictyons adjudged the prize, than they repaired to the stadium, where the foot races were ready to begin. A crown was proposed for those who should run the prescribed dis-

[o] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. [p] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 813. [q] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. Argum. in Pyth. Pind. p. 163. Hesych. in Ἀγαν. [r] Strab. ibid. Poll. lib. 4 c. 10. § 84.

tance soonest; another for those who should run it twice; and a third for those who should run it twelve times without stopping.[s] These are called the single, the double, and the long course. To these different exercises succeeded the race for children,[t] that of men armed, wrestling, boxing,[u] and several of those combats which I shall more particularly describe when I come to speak of the Olympic games.

Formerly the victors were rewarded with a sum of money;[x] but since it has been determined to confer higher honours on them, they are presented only with a crown of laurel.

We supped with the Theori, or deputies of the Athenians. Some of them proposed to consult the oracle, and the next day they were to receive answers to their questions. For the oracle can be approached only on certain days of the year, and the Pythia ascends the tripod but once in a month.[y] We determined likewise to interrogate it in our turn, merely from a motive of curiosity, and without the smallest confidence in the answers we might receive.

During the whole night, the youth of Delphi, dispersed about the streets, sang verses in honour of the persons who had been crowned.[z] The people made the air ring with long and tumultuous applauses, and all nature seemed to participate in the triumph of the

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 308; t. ix. p. 386. [t] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 814. [u] Pind. Nem. od. 6. v. 60. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4. p. 159. [x] Pausan. ibid. [y] Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 292. [z] Pind. Nem. od. 6. v. 66. Schol. ibid.

victors. The numberless echoes in the environs of Parnassus, suddenly awaked by the sound of trumpets, resounded their notes through the caverns and the valleys,[a] and repeated to each other, and bore afar the clamorous expressions of the public joy.

The following day we repaired to the temple, gave in our questions in writing,[b] and waited till our turn of approaching the Pythia was decided by lot.[c] No sooner had we received the proper notice, than we saw her pass through the temple,[d] accompanied by some prophets, bards, and sacred persons, who entered with her into the sanctuary. Melancholy and dejected, she seemed to go with reluctance, like a victim dragged to the altar. She chewed laurel,[e] and, as she passed, threw into the sacred fire, some leaves of it mixed with barley-meal:[f] she wore a wreath of it on her head, and her brow was bound with a fillet.[g]

Formerly there was only one Pythia at Delphi; but since the oracle has become more frequented, three have been appointed;[h] and since a Thessalian violated one of the priestesses, it was decreed that they should be more than fifty years of age.[i] They officiate by turns, and are chosen from amongst the lowest classes of the inhabitants of Delphi.[k] In ge-

[a] Justin. lib. 24. c. 6. [b] Aristoph. Schol. in Plut. v. 39. Van Dale de Orac. p. 116. [c] Eurip. in Ion. v. 419. Æschyl. in Eum. v. 32. [d] Id. ibid. v. 42. [e] Lucian. in Bis. Accus. § 1. t. ii. p. 792. [f] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. Id de El. p. 385. [g] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 5. p. 143 et 170. [h] Plut. de Orac. Def. p. 414. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 428. [k] Eurip. in Ion. v. 92.

neral, they are poor girls destitute of education and experience, of unexceptionable morals, but a very limited understanding.[1] They must be simply dressed, avoid the use of perfumes,[m] and pass their lives in the practice of religious exercises.

A number of strangers were assembled to consult the oracle. The temple was surrounded by victims, bleeding beneath the sacred knife, and mingling their cries with the voices of their singers. The impatient desire of prying into futurity was marked on every countenance, with all that hope and fear inseparable from suspense.

One of the priests undertook to prepare us. After being thoroughly purified by the consecrated water, we offered a bull and a she goat. To indicate that this sacrifice is acceptable to the gods, it is necessary that the bull should readily eat the flour presented to him, and that the limbs of the goat should palpitate for some moments after cold water is thrown on them.[n] No reason was given us for these ceremonies; but the more inexplicable they are, the more do they inspire veneration. The event having proved the purity of our intentions, we returned into the temple with our heads crowned with laurel, and bearing in our hands a branch encircled with a narrow fillet of white wool.[o] With this symbol the suppliants approach the altars.

[1] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 405.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 397.
[n] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 435 et 437.
[o] Van. Dale de Orac. p. 114.

We were next conducted into a chapel, where, at particular times, which, it is said, can neither be foreseen nor regulated by the priests, an extremely agreeable odour is perceived.[p] Care is always taken to point out this prodigy to strangers.

Presently after the priest came for us, and led us into the sanctuary, a deep cavern,[q] the walls of which are ornamented with a variety of votive offerings. He had just taken down from them a fillet embroidered with crowns and victories.[r] At first we could scarcely discern the objects around us, for the incense and other perfumes burning there filled the place with a thick smoke.[s] Towards the middle is an aperture, from whence issued the prophetic exhalation, the approach to which is by a gentle descent;[t] but it is impossible to see it, for it is covered with a tripod so surrounded with chaplets and branches of laurel,[u] that the vapour is prevented from dispersing itself in the cavern.

The Pythia, worn out with fatigue, refusing to answer our questions, the priests who surrounded her had recourse to menaces and even violence. Yielding at length to their persuasions, she seated herself on the tripod, after drinking of some water which flows in the sanctuary, and which possesses, as it is said, the virtue of disclosing futurity.[x]

[p] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437. [q] Strab. lib. 9. p. 419. [r] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 239. [s] Lucian. in Jov. Trag. t. ii. p. 675. [t] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 5. v. 159. [u] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 39. Schol. ibid. [x] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 859. Lucian. in Bis. Accus. t. ii. p. 792.

The boldest colours would scarcely suffice to paint the convulsions with which she was soon after seized. We saw her bosom heave, and her countenance alternately pale and glowing. All her limbs were agitated with involuntary motions:[y] but she uttered only plaintive cries and deep groans. At length, with eyes sparkling, foaming mouth, and hair erect, unable either to support the vapour that overpowered her, or escape from the tripod on which she was held down by the priests, she tore the fillet from her head, and amidst the most dreadful howlings, pronounced a few words, which were eagerly collected by the priests. They immediately arranged them in a proper order, and delivered them to us in writing. I had asked whether I should be so unfortunate as to survive my friend; and Philotas, unknown to me, had proposed the same question. The answers were obscure and equivocal, and we tore them into pieces the moment we got out of the temple.

Our hearts were now filled with pity and indignation; and we severely reproached ourselves with the lamentable condition to which we had reduced the unhappy priestess. The functions she exercises are cruel and have already cost many of these women their lives.[z] The priests know this; yet had we seen them multiply and calmly contemplate the torments under which she was sinking. It is still more painful to reflect that they are rendered thus callous,

[y] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 5. v. 170. Lucian. in Jov. Tragic. t. ii. p. 676. § 30. Van. Dale. de Orac. p. 154. [z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 438. Lucan. Phars. lib. 5. v. 116.

to the feelings of humanity by sordid interest. But for the furious ravings of the Pythia she would be less consulted, and consequently the liberalities of the people would be less abundant; for an answer is not to be obtained gratuitously from the god. Such as render him only a simple homage, must, at least, deposit cakes and other offerings[a] on the altar; they who wish to consult the oracle are obliged to sacrifice animals. Nay, some there are who do not blush on these occasions to display the greatest pomp. As a portion of the victims, whether they be rejected or received, always falls to the share of the ministers of the temple, the least irregularity they discover suffices to exclude them; and mercenary soothsayers have been known, after examining the entrails of an animal, to carry off whole pieces of it, and order the sacrifice to be recommenced.[b]

Yet this tribute, imposed on the credulity of mankind during the whole year, and severely exacted by the priests, whose principal revenue it forms,[c] is infinitely less dangerous than the influence of their answers on the public affairs of Greece and of the world. Who but must weep over the miseries of humanity, when he reflects, that besides the pretended prodigies of which the inhabitants of Delphi make a constant traffic,[d] the answers of the Pythia are to be obtained by money,[e] and that thus a single

[a] Eurip. in Ion. v. 226. [b] Euphr. ap Athen. lib. 9. cap. 6. p. 380. Van Dale de Orac. c. 5. p. 106. [c] Lucian. in Phalar. 2. § 8. t. ii. p. 204, [d] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 532. [e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 66. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 854. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 213. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 16.

word, dictated by corrupt priests, and uttered by a senseless girl, suffices to excite bloody wars,[f] and spread desolation through a whole kingdom!

The oracle requires of its votaries to render to the gods the honours that are due to them, but prescribes no rule in that respect; and when it is asked which is the best form of worship, uniformly answers; "Conform to the received religion of your country."[g] It requires men also to respect the temples; and denounces heavy punishments against all who violate them, or seize on the property appertaining to them: of this I shall give an example.

The plain which extends from Mount Parnassus to the sea, belonged about two centuries ago, to the inhabitants of Cirrha; and the manner in which they were deprived of it, sufficiently proves the nature of the vengeance here exercised against acts of sacrilege. These people were reproached with levying contributions on the Greeks who landed on their territory in their way to Delphi; they were accused likewise of having made inroads into the lands belonging to the temple.[h] The oracle, consulted by the Amphictyons, respecting the species of punishment merited by the guilty persons, ordered them to be pursued night and day, their country to be ravaged, and themselves reduced to servitude. Several states instantly flew to arms. The city was razed and the harbour destroyed: the inhabitants were either put to death or loaded with

[f] Herodot. lib. 1 cap. 53. [g] Xen. Mem. lib. 4. page 803.
[h] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 894.

chains; and their rich fields being consecrated to the temple of Delphi, an oath was taken never to cultivate them, nor build houses on them, with the following dreadful imprecation: "May the individuals, and the nations who shall dare to infringe this oath, be accursed in the sight of Apollo and of the other divinities of Delphi; may their lands never bear any fruit; may their wives and flocks bring forth only monsters; may they perish in battle; may they miscarry in all their enterprises; may their generations become extinct with them; and, while they live, may Apollo and the other deities of Delphi reject, with horror, their prayers and their sacrifices!"[j]

The next day we descended into the plain, to see the horse and chariot races.[k] The Hippodromos, the name of the space allotted for the course, is so large, that no less than forty chariots have sometimes been known to contend for the victory.[l] We saw ten start at once from the barrier,[m] but few of which returned, the rest being dashed to pieces against the goal, or broken in the middle of the course.

When the races were ended, we returned to Delphi, to be present at the funereal honours which the Theoria of the Ænianes proposed to render to the manes of Neoptolemus, and at the ceremonies whchi were to precede them. This people, who reckon Achilles among the number of their ancient kings, and pay particular respect to the memory of that hero and his

[j] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 445. Sophocl. in Elect. v. 700 et 731.
[k] Paus. lib. 10. c. 37. p. 893.
[l] Pind. Pyth. 5. v. 65.
[m] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 703.

son Neoptolemus, dwell near Mount Œta, in Thessaly. Every fourth year they send a deputation to Delphi, not only to offer sacrifices to the deities of the place, but to make libations, and to pray upon the tomb of Neoptolemus, who perished here, at the foot of the altar, by the hand of Orestes, son of Agamemnon.[a] The first of these duties they had discharged the day before; and they were now about to acquit themselves of the second.

Polyphron, a young and rich Thessalian, was at the head of the Theoria. As he pretended to derive his descent from Achilles, he was desirous to appear in the eyes of the people with a splendour that might justify such high claims. The procession opened by a hecatomb really consisting of a hundred oxen,[b] some of them with gilded horns, and others crowned with flowers and garlands. They were led by the same number of Thessalians, clothed in white, with axes on their shoulders. Other victims followed, and musicians were placed at intervals, who played on different instruments. Next appeared some Thessalian women, whose charms attracted every eye. They walked, with measured steps, singing hymns in honour of Thetis mother of Achilles, and bearing in their hands, or on their heads, baskets filled with flowers, fruits, and precious aromatics. They were followed by fifty young Thessalians mounted on superb horses, whitening their bits with foam. Polyphron was no less distinguished by the majestic graces of his person, than

[a] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2. p. 123. [b] Id. lib. 3. p. 127.

by the magnificence of his apparel. When the procession arrived before the temple of Diana, the priestess made her appearance, with the insignia and attributes of the goddess, having a quiver suspended over her shoulder, and in her hands a bow and lighted flambeau. She mounted her car, and closed the procession, which continued to proceed in the same order as far as the tomb of Neoptolemus, situate in an enclosure on the left of the temple.[p]

The Thessalian horsemen three times made the circuit of the tomb. The Thessalian girls uttered deep groans, and the other deputies doleful cries. A moment after the signal was given, and all the victims fell at once around the altar. Their extremities were cut off, and placed on a large pile, on which the priests, after reciting some prayers, made their libations; after which Polyphron set fire to it with the torch he had received from the hands of the priestess of Diana. The claims which the ministers of the temple have on certain portions of the victims were then satisfied, and the remainder reserved for an entertainment, to which the priests, the principal inhabitants of Delphi, and the Theori, or deputies of the other Grecian cities, were invited.[q] We were admitted to it, but in the mean time took a step to the Lesche, which presented itself to our view.

This is an edifice, or portico, so named because it is the place in which people meet to converse, or

[p] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 24. p. 858. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 133 et 134.

[q] Eurip. in Ion. v. 1131.

transact business.[r] We there found several pictures exposed to the public eye, in a kind of emulative exhibition, which has been usual about a century.[s] But we were less attentive to these than to the paintings which decorate the walls. They are by the hand of Polygnotus of Thasos, and were consecrated in this place by the Cnidians.[t]

To the right, Polygnotus has represented the taking of Troy, or rather the consequences of that event: for he has chosen the moment when, glutted with carnage, almost all the Greeks are preparing to return to their native homes. The field of the picture includes not only the inside of the city seen through the walls, the destruction of which is completing, but the sea-shore, near which are seen the vessel of Menelaus ready to set sail, and the tent of that prince, which is beginning to be taken down. A variety of groups are distributed in the market-place, in the streets, and on the sea-shore. Here Helen is seen, accompanied by two of her women, surrounded by several wounded Trojans, whose misfortunes she has occasioned, and several Greeks, who still seem to contemplate her beauty with admiration. Further on, Cassandra appears seated on the ground, in the midst of Ulysses, Ajax, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, who are represented standing motionless near an altar: for the general character of this picture is that gloomy silence, that fearful repose, into which both the victors

[r] Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 25. p. 859. [s] Plin. lib. 35. c. 9. t. ii. p. 690. [t] Pausan. et Plin. ibid. Plut. de Orac. Def t. ii. p. 412.

and the vanquished must necessarily sink, when the former are wearied of their cruelties, and the latter of their existence. Neoptolemus alone has not yet satiated his vengeance, and is still seen pursuing some feeble Trojans. This figure, above all, attracts the eyes of the spectator; and such, doubtless, was the intention of the artist, as he painted it for a place contiguous to the tomb of that hero.

It is impossible not to feel the strongest emotions of terror and compassion, when we view the body of Priam, and those of the principal Trojan chiefs, extended on the earth, covered with wounds, and forsaken by all, amidst the ruins of a city once so flourishing. The same emotions are also strongly felt at the sight of a child in the arms of an old slave, who puts his little hand before his eyes, to hide from them the surrounding objects of horror; of that other child who, seized with terror and consternation, is running to embrace an altar; and of those Trojan women, who, seated on the ground, and almost piled upon each other, appear sinking beneath the weight of their destiny. Among the number of these captives are two daughters of Priam, and the wretched Andromache holding her son upon her knees. The painter has let us see the affliction of the youngest of the princesses; but of that of the two others the imagination only can judge: their heads are covered with a veil.

At this moment it occurred to us that great praise had been bestowed on Timanthus for having thrown a veil over the head of Agamemnon, in his sacrifice

of Iphigenia. The same image had already been employed by Euripides,[a] who had borrowed it no doubt from Polygnotus. Be that as it may, in one of the corners of the picture I have been describing, we read this inscription by Simonides: "Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, has represented the destruction of Troy."[x] This inscription is in verse, as are almost all those intended to preserve the memory of celebrated names or events.

On the opposite wall, Polygnotus has painted the descent of Ulysses into hell, conformably to the relation given by Homer and other poets. The principal objects are, the bark of Charon, the evocation of the ghost of Tiresias, Elysium filled with heroes, and Tartarus crowded with the wicked. In this piece we may remark a new and dreadful species of punishment destined by Polygnotus for unnatural children; one of which he has introduced in his picture, and has represented his father strangling him.[y] I observed likewise, that to the torments of Tantalus he has added one by which this miserable prince is kept in a perpetual state of apprehension. He has placed over him an enormous rock, which every moment threatens to fall upon his head; but this idea he borrowed from the poet Archilocus.[z]

These two pictures, the first of which contains upwards of a hundred figures, and the second more than eighty, produce a noble effect, and give a high idea of the genius and skill of Polygnotus. The per-

[a] Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1550. [x] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 27. p. 866. [y] Id. ibid. c. 28. p. 866. [z] Id. ibid. p. 876.

sons round us were employed in exaggerating their defects and beauties;[a] but it was admitted by all, that the artist had treated his vast and sublime subjects with so much judgment as to produce in each picture a rich and magnificent whole.

The principal personages are distinguishable by their names, written near their figures; a custom which has been laid aside as the art has been brought to greater perfection.

Whilst we were admiring these works, a messenger came to inform us that Polyphron expected us in the banquet-hall. We found him in the centre of a large square tent, covered and inclosed on three sides by painted tapestry, which is kept in the treasury of the temple, and was borrowed by Polyphron on the occasion. On the ceiling was represented, on one side, the sun when nearly setting; on the other, Aurora just beginning to appear; and in the middle, Night in her car, clothed in black crape, attended by the moon and stars: on the other pieces of tapestry were centaurs, horsemen pursuing stags and lions, and naval battles.[b]

The entertainment was very sumptuous, and lasted a considerable time. Female musicians performed upon the flute. The Thessalian girls entertained us with delightful concerts, and the young men exhibited mock fights in dances skilfully executed.[c]

[a] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. Lucian. in Imag. t. ii. page 465. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvii. Hist. p. 49. Œuv. de Falc. t. v. p. 1. [b] Eurip. in Ion. v. 1141. [c] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 144.

Some days after, we ascended to the source of the Castalian mountain, the deliciously cool and pure streams of which form beautiful cascades on the declivity of the mountain. The fountain gushes forth from between two ridges of rocks, which overtop the city of Delphi.[d]

Thence, pursuing our way towards the north, to the distance of more than sixty stadia,* we arrived at the cave Corycius, or, as it is sometimes called, the Cave of the Nymphs, because consecrated to them as well as to the gods Pan and Bacchus.[e] The water that drops from every part, forms little rivulets in it, which are never dry. Though very deep, the light of day penetrates almost every corner of it.[f] It is so capacious, that, at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Delphi made it their place of refuge.[g] We were shown in the environs a great number of grottoes, which are held in high veneration; for in these solitary haunts every thing is esteemed sacred, and every place believed to be the abode of genii.[h]

The road we followed offered successively to our view an endless variety of objects; pleasing valleys, clusters of pine-trees, lands capable of cultivation, rocks menacing our heads, precipices yawning beneath our feet, and broken points of view, from which we

[d] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 817. Spon. Voy. de Grèce, t. ii. p. 37. Wheler's Journey, book 4. p. 314. * About two leagues and a half. [e] Æschyl. in Eumen. v. 22. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 32. p. 878. [f] Pausan. ibid. [g] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 36. [h] Æschyl. in Eumen. v. 23. Strab. lib. 9. p. 417. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 5. v. 73.

looked down, at a great depth on the adjacent country. In this landscape we got a glimpse, near Panopeus, a town situate on the confines of Phocis and Bœötia, of a number of carriages filled with women, who were alighting from them, and forming themselves into circular dances. Our guides knew them to be the Athenian Thyades, women initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus, who repair annually to join those of Delphi, in order to ascend the heights of Parnassus in a body, and there celebrate, with their accustomed enthusiasm, the orgies of that god.[j]

The extravagance of their devotion will not surprise those who know how easy it is to inflame the lively and ardent imagination of the Grecian women. They have not unfrequently been known to spread themselves like torrents over cities and whole provinces, half naked, and with dishevelled locks, uttering the most frightful howlings. A single spark sufficed to produce these combustions. One or two of them, seized with a kind of delirium, imagined themselves incited by divine inspiration, and communicated their frantic transports to their companions. When the fit was on the decline, expiations and remedies restored tranquillity to their minds.[k] These epidemical paroxysms are less frequent since real knowledge has made a more extensive progress, though some traces of them are still to be seen in the festivals of Bacchus.

[j] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 806; c. 6. p. 812; c. 32. p. 876.
[k] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 54. Ælian. lib. 3. c. 42. Theopomp. ap. Suid. in Βάκις, et ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 963.

Continuing our road between hills piled upon each other, we arrived at the foot of mount Lycorea, the highest of the Parnassian ridge, and perhaps of all Greece.[l] Here it is said the inhabitants of the adjacent districts took refuge to escape the deluge of Deucalion.[m] We set out to reach the top of the mountain; but, after many falls, we experienced how easily we may attain to certain heights on Parnassus, but how difficult it is to gain the summit; and we descended to Elatea, the capital of Phocis.

This little province is environed by lofty mountains, and is only accessible by defiles, at the entrance of which the Phocians have erected fortresses. Elatea defends them against the inroads of the Thessalians;[n] Parapotamii from those of the Thebans;[o] and twenty other cities, the greater part of which are built on rocks, or encompassed with walls and towers.[p]

To the north and eastward of Parnassus, we meet with beautiful plains watered by the Cephissus, which rises at the foot of Mount Œta, above the city of Lilæa. The people of the neighbourhood affirm, that, on certain days, and especially in the afternoon, this river gushes forth from the earth with fury, making a noise like the roaring of a bull.[q] Of this I saw nothing, but only observed it silently glide along, with frequent windings,[r] amidst fields clad

[l] Wheler's Journey, &c. book 4. p. 318; t. ii. p. 40. [m] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 4. Prid. ibid. Strab. lib 9. p. 418. [n] Strab. ibid. p. 424. [o] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 462. [p] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. [q] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 33. p. 883. [r] Hesiod. Fragm. ap. Strab. lib. 9. p. 424.

with various kinds of trees, grain, and pasturage.[s] As if attached to its own bounties, it seems reluctantly to quit the scenes that it embellishes.

The other districts of Phocis are distinguished by particular productions. The oils of Tithorea,[t] and the hellebore of Anticyra, a town situated on the Corinthian sea,[u] are in high estimation. Not far from thence, the fishermen of Bulis catch those shell fish which are used for the purple dye: [x] higher up we saw, in the valley of Ambryssus, rich vineyards, and a quantity of shrubs, which produce those little seeds that give so beautiful a red to woollens.[y]

Each city of Phocis is independent, and possesses the right of sending deputies to the general council, in which the national interests are discussed.[z]

The inhabitants have a great number of festivals, temples, and statues; but the honour of cultivating letters and the arts they leave to other nations. Their principal occupations are confined to rustic labours and domestic cares. They have at all times given striking proofs of characteristic valour, and on a particular occasion exhibited a fearful testimony of their love of liberty.

When on the point of sinking under the power of the Thessalians, who had invaded their country with superior forces, they constructed a large pile, near which they placed their women, their children, their

[s] Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 33. p. 883. [t] Id. ibid. c. 32. p. 881. [u] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418. Plin. lib. 25. c. 5. t. ii. p. 367. Pausan. ibid. c. 36. p. 891. [x] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 37. p. 893. [y] Id. ibid. c. 36. p. 890. [z] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 805; c. 33. p. 882.

gold and silver, and all their valuable effects, and left them under the care of thirty of their warriors, with orders, in case of a defeat, to kill the women and children, to throw every thing into the flames, and either to destroy each other, or repair to the field of battle, and perish with the rest of the nation. The conflict was long, the slaughter dreadful: the Thessalians took to flight, and the Phocians remained free.

[a] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 800.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Remarkable Events in Greece, from the Year 361 to the Year 357 before Christ.—Death of Agesilaus, King of Lacedæmon.—Accession of Philip to the Throne of Macedon.—Social War.

During our stay at the Pythian games we more than once heard of the last expedition of Agesilaus; and on our return we learned his death.[b*]

Tachos, king of Egypt, having determined to invade Persia, assembled an army of eighty thousand men, which was to be strengthened by a body of ten thousand Greeks, among which number were a thousand Lacedæmonians commanded by Agesilaus.[c] It excited universal astonishment to see this prince, now more than eighty years of age, engage in so distant an expedition, and serve in the pay of a foreign power. But Lacedæmon wished to take vengeance for the protection which the king of Persia had granted to the Messenians. She pleaded obligations to Tachos, and had besides hopes that this war would restore liberty to the Greek cities of Asia.[d]

To these motives, which perhaps were only pretext with Agesilaus, were added others personal to

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 401. * In the third year of the 104th Olympiad, corresponding to the year 362 and 361 before Christ.
[c] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616. [d] Xen. in Ages. p. 663.

himself. His active mind, unable to support the idea of a peaceful life, and an obscure death, suddenly beheld a new track opening to his genius; and he seized with the more avidity this opportunity of retrieving the lustre of his glory, tarnished by the success of Epaminondas, as Tachos had promised to confer on him the command of the whole army.[e]

He left Lacedæmon. The Egyptians expected him with impatience. On the news of his arrival, the chief men of the nation, mingled with the multitude, eagerly thronged round a hero, who, for such a series of years, had been so loudly celebrated by fame.[f]

On their arrival on the shore, they found a little old man of a mean figure, seated on the ground, in the midst of a few Spartans, whose appearance, as negligent as his own, rendered it impossible to distinguish the subjects from the sovereign. The officers of Tachos displayed before him the presents of hospitality, consisting of various sorts of provisions. Agesilaus made choice of some coarse eatables, and distributed the most delicate dishes, as well as the perfumes, among the slaves. The spectators burst out into immoderate laughter; and the wisest among them contented themselves with testifying their contempt, and quoting the fable of the Mountain in Labour.[g]

His patience was soon put to a still ruder trial.

[e] Xen. in Ages. p. 663. [f] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616. [g] Id. ibid. Nep. in Ages. c. 8.

The king of Egypt refused to entrust him with the command of his troops. He paid no attention to his counsels, and subjected him to every mortification that haughty insolence and puerile vanity can inspire. Agesilaus patiently awaited the moment of extricating himself from the state of degradation into which he had fallen; nor did he long seek for an opportunity.

The troops of Tachos revolting, formed themselves into two parties, each of which assumed the power to name a successor to his crown.[h] Agesilaus declared himself in favour of Nectanebus, one of the pretenders to the throne. He directed him in all his measures; and after establishing his authority, quitted Egypt, laden with honours, and carrying with him the sum of two hundred and thirty talents,* sent by Nectanebus as a present to the Lacedæmonians. A violent tempest obliged him to take shelter on a desert part of the coast of Libya, where he died at the age of eighty-four.[i]

Two years after,† an event took place, which, though it escaped the attention of the Athenians, was destined to change the face of Greece, and of the known world.

Hitherto the connexions between the Macedonians and Greece had been but slender, no distinction being made by the polished states of the latter coun-

[h] Xen. in Ages. p. 663. * 1,242,000 livres (51,750*l.*) [i] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 618. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 215. † Under the archonship of Callimedes, the first year of the 105th Olympiad, corresponding to the years 360 and 359 before Christ.

try between them and the other barbarous nations with whom they were perpetually at war. The sovereigns of Macedon were formerly admitted to enter the lists at the Olympic games, only on producing the titles by which they derived their descent from Hercules.[k]

Archelaus afterwards attempted to introduce into his states a taste for letters and the arts. Euripides was invited to his court; and Socrates, if he had chosen to accept the offer, might there have found an asylum.

The last of these princes, Perdiccas, son of Amyntas, had lately been cut off, with the greater part of his army, in a battle with the Illyrians. On this news his brother Philip, whom I had seen when a hostage among the Thebans, eluded the vigilance of his guards, repaired to Macedon, and was appointed guardian to the son of Perdiccas.[l]

The kingdom was now menaced with approaching ruin. Intestine divisions and multiplied defeats had rendered it an object of contempt to all the neighbouring nations, which seemed to conspire together to accelerate its ruin. The Pæönians made incursions on the frontiers; the Illyrians collected their forces, and meditated an invasion; two competitors, equally formidable, and both of the royal house, aspired to the throne; the Thracians maintained the claims of Pausanias; and the Athenians sent a fleet and army to assert those of Argæus. The people in consterna-

[k] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 22; lib. 9. c. 45.

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407. Justin. lib. 7. c. 5.

tion beheld only exhausted finances, a handful of dispirited and undisciplined soldiers, the sceptre in the hands of an infant, and by the side of the throne a regent scarcely twenty-two years of age.

Philip, consulting his own powers rather than the forces of the kingdom, undertook to render his nation what Epaminondas, his model, had rendered the Thebans. A few slight advantages taught the troops sufficient confidence in themselves to act with courage, and the people of Macedon no longer to despair of the state. He presently introduced order into the different departments of administration; new-modelled the Macedonian phalanx; and engaged, by presents and promises, the Pæönians to retire, and the king of Thrace to sacrifice to him Pausanias. He next marched against Argæus, defeated him, and dismissed, without ransom, the Athenian prisoners.[a]

Though Athens now sustained her greatness only by the influence of her ancient fame, she was not to be treated with contempt. She had well-founded pretensions on the city of Amphipolis in Macedonia, and the most evident interest in asserting her right. It was one of her colonies, and important in point of commerce, as through this channel she obtained her ship-timber, her wool, and other articles of merchandise, from Upper Thrace. After many revolutions, Amphipolis had fallen into the hands of Perdiccas, brother of Philip; and it could not be restored to its ancient masters without giving them a footing in

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 408.

Macedonia, nor kept without forcing them into a war. Philip, therefore, declared it independent, and signed a treaty of peace with the Athenians, in which that city was not mentioned. This silence left the contracting parties in possession of their respective claims.[n]

In the midst of these successes, oracles were rumoured among the people, which declared that Macedon should resume its ancient splendour under a son of Amyntas. Heaven had promised a great man to Macedonia; and the genius of Philip seemed to point him out.[o] The nation, persuaded that, even by the declaration of the gods themselves, he alone ought to govern who was able to defend them, invested him with the sovereign authority, of which they deprived the son of Perdiccas.

Encouraged by their choice, Philip united part of Pæönia to Macedon; defeated the Illyrians, and obliged them to retire within their ancient limits.[p] He soon after made himself master of Amphipolis, which the Athenians in the interval had fruitlessly endeavoured to retake; and of some adjoining cities, in which they had garrisons.[q] Athens, occupied with another war, was neither able to prevent nor to avenge hostilities, which Philip knew how to colour with specious pretexts.

But nothing contributed more to augment his power than the discovery of some gold mines, which

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 403. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4. c. 2. § 17. [o] Justin. lib. 7. c. 6. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 409. [q] Id. ibid. p. 412. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4. c. 2. § 17.

annually produced him upwards of a thousand talents:[r]* he afterwards employed this wealth to corrupt the principal orators and statesmen of the Grecian republics.

I have said that the Athenians were obliged to shut their eyes to the first hostilities of Philip. The city of Byzantium, and the isles of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, had recently formed a league to withdraw themselves from their dependence.[s]† The war commenced with the siege of Chios. Chabrias commanded the fleet, and Chares the land-forces.[t] The former enjoyed a reputation acquired by numerous great actions. He was only reproached with executing with too much ardour projects formed with too great circumspection.[u] Almost his whole life had been passed at the head of armies, and far from Athens, where the fame of his opulence and merit excited much jealousy.[x] The following anecdote will give an idea of his military talents. He was on the point of being defeated by Agesilaus; the mercenaries in his army had fled, and the troops of Athens were ready to give way and follow their example. In this critical moment he commanded them to kneel on one knee, cover themselves with their bucklers,

[r] Strab. lib. 7. p. 331. Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 5. c. 15. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 408 et 413. * Upwards of five millions four hundred thousand livres (225,000*l.*) [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412. Demosth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 144. † In the 3d year of the 105th Olympiad, before Christ 358 and 357. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412. [u] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744. [x] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532. Nep. in Chabr. c. 3.

and present their pikes. The king of Lacedæmon, surprised at a manœuvre never before practised, and thinking it would be dangerous to attack this phalanx of iron, gave the signal of retreat. The Athenians decreed a statue to their general, and allowed him to be represented in the attitude which had saved them from the disgrace of a defeat.[y]

Chares, proud of trifling successes[z] and slight wounds,[a] for which he was indebted to chance, destitute besides of real abilities, without modesty, and intolerably vain, displayed a most offensive luxury both in peace and war;[b] drew on himself, in every campaign, the contempt of the enemy, and the hatred of the allies; fomented dissensions among the friendly nations, and robbed them of their treasures, of which he was at once covetous and lavish.[c] He even carried his audacity to such a height, as to embezzle the pay of the soldiers to corrupt the orators,[d] and to give entertainments to the people, who preferred him to all the other generals.[e]

Chabrias, when he came in sight of Chios, unable to moderate his ardour, ordered the rowers to redouble their exertions, entered singly into the port, and was immediately surrounded by the fleet of the enemy. After an obstinate resistance, his soldiers threw themselves into the sea to swim to the other galleys which were coming to their assistance.

[y] Nep. in Chabr. c. 1. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 385. [a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278. [b] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532. [c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403. [d] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406. [e] Theopomp. ap. Athen. ibid.

Chabrias might have followed their example; but he chose rather to die than abandon his ship.[f]

The siege of Chios was undertaken and raised. The war lasted four years.[g] We shall hereafter see in what manner it was terminated.

[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744. Nep. in Chabr. c. 4. [g] Diod. ibid. p. 424.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Festivals of the Athenians.—The Panathenæa.—The Dionysia.

THE early festivals of Greece were characterized by joy and gratitude. The people of the different nations, after gathering in the fruits of the earth, assembled to offer up sacrifices, and to indulge in that mirth which is the natural consequence of plenty.[h] Several of the Athenian festivals bear the vestiges of this origin: they celebrate the return of verdure, of the harvests, the vintage, and the four seasons of the year;[i] and as these acts of worship are addressed to Ceres and to Bacchus, the festivals of those two divinities are more numerous than those of the other deities.

In process of time, the commemoration of beneficial or illustrious events was fixed to stated days, the more certainly to perpetuate them to posterity. If we take a view of the Athenian calendar,[k] we shall find in it an abstract of the annals of Athens, and the events the most glorious to the city. At one time, the union of the people of Attica by Theseus,

[h] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 11. t. ii. p. 110. [i] Meurs. Græc. Fer. Castellan. &c. [k] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.

the return of that prince into his states, and the abolition of debts which he procured, are celebrated; and at another, the battles of Marathon and Salamis, or those of Platæa, Naxos, &c.[l]

The birth of children is a festival for individuals;[m] and the enrolling of these children among the number of the citizens a national festival;[n] as it is also when, on attaining a certain age, they exhibit public testimonies of the progress they have made in the exercises of the gymnasium.[o] Besides these festivals, which interest the whole state, there are others peculiar to each town.

The public solemnities are either annual, or return after a certain number of years. Such as were established in the country from the remotest periods, are distinguished from those which have been recently borrowed from other nations.[p] Some of them are celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. On certain occasions I have seen three hundred oxen led in solemn pomp to the altars.[q] Upwards of eighty days,[r] taken from industry and rustic labours, are dedicated to spectacles, which attach the people to the religion and government. These consist of sacrifices that inspire respect by the pomp of ceremonies; processions in which the youth of both sexes advantageously display all their charms; theatrical pieces, the productions of the first geniuses of Greece;

[l] Meurs. Græc. Fer. [m] Id. ibid. in Amphidr. [n] Id. ibid. in Apat. [o] Id. ibid. in Oschoph. [p] Harpocr. in Ἐπιφέρ. [q] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 324. [r] Id. Paneg. t. i. p. 142. See the Athenian Calendar, in Petit, Corsini, &c.

dances, songs, and combats, in which bodily strength, skill, and genius, are by turns exhibited.

These combats are of two kinds; the gymnastic exhibited at the stadium, and the scenic competitions at the theatre.[s] In the former, the prize is disputed by running, wrestling, and other exercises of the gymnasium; and in the latter, by song and dance. As these constitute the chief ornament of the principal festivals,[t] I shall proceed to give some idea of the exhibitions on the stage.

Each of the ten tribes furnishes a chorus, and a leader to conduct it.[u] This leader, who is named the choragus, must be at least forty years of age.[x] The choice of the performers lies with him, and they are generally taken from the class of children, or of youths.[y] It is his interest to have an excellent player on the flute to direct their voices, and an able master to regulate their steps and gestures.[z] As it is necessary to establish the most perfect equality between the competitors, and as the victory frequently depends on the superior skill of these teachers, one of the first magistrates of the republic sees them drawn for by lot, in presence of the different bands and their respective choragi.[a]

Some months previous to the festivals they begin to exercise the performers; and the choragus, that they

[s] Poll. lib. 3. c. 30. § 142. [t] Lys. Defens. Mun. p. 374. [u] Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600. Demosth. ibid. p. 605. Id. in Bœot. p. 1002. [x] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 262. [y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 764. [z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612. [a] Id. ibid. p. 605.

may be constantly under his eye, often takes them to live with him, and provides for their support.[b] He appears at the festival, as well as his followers, with a gilt crown and a magnificent robe.[c]

These functions, consecrated by religion, are still further ennobled by the example of Aristides, Epaminondas, and the greatest men, who have deemed it an honour to discharge them; but they are so expensive, that many citizens refuse the dangerous honour of sacrificing part of their fortunes[d] to the precarious hope of rising, by this means, to the first offices of magistracy.

Sometimes a tribe is unable to find a choragus, and in this case the state takes upon itself the expense,[e] orders two citizens conjointly to support the burthen,[f] or permits the choragus of one tribe to conduct the chorus of another.[g] I shall add likewise that each tribe is eager to obtain the best poet, to compose the sacred hymns.[h]

The choruses appear in the *pomps* or processions; they range themselves around the altars, and sing hymns during the sacrifice;[i] they repair to the theatre, where, deputed to maintain the honour of their respective tribes,[k] their exertions are animated by the most lively emulation. Their leaders employ in-

[b] Antiphon. Orat. 16. p. 143. Ulpian. in Leptin. p. 575. [c] Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 613. Antiphon. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 103. [d] Lys. Defens. Mun. p. 375. Demosth. in Mid. p. 605. Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600. [e] Inscript. Ant. ap. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 326. [f] Aristot. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 408. [g] Antiphon. Orat. 16. p. 143. [h] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1404. Schol. ib. [i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800. [k] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 311.

trigues and corruption to obtain the victory.[l] Judges are appointed to decree the prize,[m] which sometimes is a tripod, carefully consecrated by the victorious tribe, either in a temple,[n] or in an edifice erected on the occasion.[o]

The people, almost as jealous of their pleasures as of their liberty, wait the decision of the contest with the same anxiety, the same tumult, as if their most important interests were the object of discussion. The glory resulting from the victory is shared between the triumphant chorus, the tribe to which it belongs, the choragus who is at its head, and the masters who have given the preparatory lessons.[p]

Every thing relative to these spectacles is provided for and settled by the laws. They declare the persons of the choragus and the actors inviolable during these festivals;[q] they regulate the number of the solemnities when the different kinds of games, of which the people are so passionately enamoured, shall be presented.[r] Such, amongst others, are the Panathenæa and the greater Dionysia, or Dionysia of the city.

The former fall in the first month, which begins at the summer solstice. Instituted in the earliest ages in honour of Minerva, and revived by Theseus in

[l] Demosth. in Mid. p. 604 et 612. [m] Id. ibid. p. 606. [n] Id. ibid. p. 604. Id. in Pænipp. p. 1025. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 318. Athen. lib. 1. p. 37. Suid. in Πυθ. Taylor in Marmor. Sandvic. p. 67. [o] Plut. in X. Ret. Vit. t. ii. p. 835. Chandl. Inscript. p. 48. [p] Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. p. 851. Inscript. Antiq. ap. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 315 et 327; ap. Van Dale, de Gymnas. c. 5.; ap. Taylor, in Marm. Sandvic. p. 70. [q] Demosth. in Mid. p. 612. [r] Id. ibid. p. 604.

memory of the union of all the people of Attica, their return is annual; but they are celebrated with additional ceremony and splendour in the fifth year.[s] The following is the order observed in them, according to the remarks I made the first time I had an opportunity of being present.

The people who inhabit the different towns of Attica, thronged to the capital, leading with them a great number of victims destined for sacrifices to the goddess.[t] In the morning I repaired to the banks of the Ilissus, and saw the horse-races, in which the sons of the first citizens of Athens contended for the honour of the victory.[u] I remarked the way in which most of them mounted on horseback: they rested their *left* foot against a sort of cramp fixed to the lower part of their pike, and thence sprung nimbly on their coursers.[x] Not far from thence I saw other young men striving for the prize at wrestling and different exercises of the body;[xx] then proceeding to the Odeum, I found there several musicians engaged in gentler and less perilous contests.[y] Some executed pieces on the flute or cithara; others sang, and accompanied their voices with one of these instruments.[z] The subject proposed to them was the eulogium of Harmodius, Aristogiton, and Thrasybulus, who had rescued the republic from

[s] Meurs. Panathen. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 537. Castell. de Fest. Græc. in Panathen. [t] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid. [u] Xenoph. Sympos. p. 872. Athen. lib. 4. p. 168. [x] Xenoph. de Re Equestr. p. 942. [xx] Demosth. de Coron. p. 492. Xen. ibid. [y] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. [z] Meurs. Panath. c. 10.

the yoke of the tyrants by which it was oppressed:[a] for, among the Athenians, public institutions are so many monuments for the citizens who have served the state, and lessons for those who are called upon to render it service. A crown of olive, and a vessel filled with oil, were the prizes bestowed upon the victors.[b] Crowns were afterwards conferred on individuals, who appeared to the people to have merited that mark of honour by their zeal in the service of their country.[c]

I next went to the Ceramicus, to see the procession pass that was formed without the walls,[d] and beginning to file off. It was composed of different classes of citizens, crowned with chaplets of flowers,[e] and remarkable for their personal beauty. Among the number were old men of a majestic and venerable appearance, bearing branches of olive;[f] middle-aged men, who, armed with lances and with bucklers, seemed only to breathe war;[g] youth, from eighteen to twenty, who sang hymns in honour of the goddess;[h] beautiful boys clad in a simple tunic,[i] adorned only with their native graces; and, lastly, girls, who were of the first families in Athens, and whose features, shape, and deportment, attracted every eye.[k] With their hands they held baskets on their heads, which, under a

[a] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 283. [b] Aristot. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 730. Schol. Pind. Nem. od. x. v. 65. Meurs. Panath. c. 11. [c] Demosth. de Coron. p. 492. [d] Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 57. [e] Demosth. in Mid. p. 612. [f] Xen. Sympos. p. 883. Etymol. Magn. et Hesych. in Θαλλοφ. [g] Thucyd. ibid. c. 58. [h] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 18. [i] Meurs. Panath. c. 24. [k] Hesych. et Harpocr. in Κανηφ. Ovid. Met. lib. 2. v. 711.

rich veil, contained sacred utensils, cakes, and every thing necessary for the sacrifices.[l] Female attendants, who followed them, with one hand held over them an umbrella, and carried in the other a folding chair.[m] This is a species of servitude imposed on the daughters of all foreigners settled at Athens: a servitude they share in common with their fathers and mothers, who likewise carried on their shoulders vessels filled with water and honey, for the purpose of libations.[n]

They were followed by eight musicians, four of whom played on the flute, and four on the lyre.[o] After them came rhapsodists singing the poems of Homer,[p] and dancers armed at all points, who, attacking each other at intervals, represented to the sound of the flute, the battle of Minerva with the Titans.[q]

Next came a ship that appeared to glide over the ground by the power of the wind and the efforts of a great number of rowers, but which really was put in motion by concealed machinery.[r] The vessel had a sail of light stuff,[s] on which young girls had represented in embroidery the victory of Minerva over the Titans.[t] On it also they depicted, by order of the

[l] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 948. [m] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1550. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 1. [n] Ælian. ibid. Harpocr. in Μετοικ. Id. et Hesych. in Σκαφ. Poll. lib. 3. c. 4. § 55. [o] Drawings of Nointel, preserved in the king of France's library. [p] Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 161. Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228. [q] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 984. Schol. ibid. Lys. in Mun. Accept. p. 374. Meurs. Panathen. c. 12. [r] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. page 17. Philostr. in Sophist. lib. 2. page 550. Meurs. Panath. c. 19. Harpocr. in Πέπλ. [s] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. [t] Eurip. in Hecub. v. 466. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Πέπλ.

government, some heroes whose illustrious deeds had merited to be celebrated with those of the gods.[u]

This procession advanced with solemn steps, under the direction of several magistrates,[x] and passed through the most frequented quarter of the city, amidst a crowd of spectators, most of whom were placed on scaffolds erected for the occasion.[y] When it had reached the temple of the Pythian Apollo,[z] the sail of the ship was taken down and carried to the citadel, where it was deposited in the temple of Minerva.[a]

In the evening I followed the crowd to the Academy to see the torch-race. The course is only six or seven stadia in length.[b] It extends from the altar of Prometheus, which is at the gate of this garden, to the walls of the city.[c] Several young men are stationed in this interval at equal distances.[d] When the shouts of the multitude have given the signal,[e] the first lights his flambeau at the altar,[f] and running with it, hands it to the second, who transmits it in the same manner to the third, and so successively.[g] He who suffers it to be extinguished can no more enter the lists,[h] and they who slacken their pace are exposed to the railleries and even blows of the populace.[i] To gain the

[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 562. Schol. ibid. [x] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 93. [y] Athen. lib. 4. p. 167. [z] Philostr. in Sophist. lib. 2. p. 550. [a] Plut. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. [b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 196. [c] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 30. p. 75. [d] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 98. [e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 133. [f] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 79. [g] Herodot. ibid. Æschyl. in Agam. v. 320. Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 5. in Lampad. [h] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 75. [i] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1125. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Κεραμ.

prize, it is necessary to have passed through the different stations with success. This trial of skill was frequently repeated, and is diversified according to the nature of the festivals.[k]

The candidates who had been crowned at the different exercises, invited their friends to supper. Sumptuous repasts were given in the prytaneum, and other public places, which lasted till the following day.[m] The people among whom the immolated victims were distributed,[n] spread tables on every side, and gave a loose to their lively and tumultuous mirth.

Several days of the year are dedicated to the worship of Bacchus.[o] The city, the harbour of Piræus, the country, and the neighbouring towns, by turns re-echo with his name. I have more than once seen the whole city in a state of the most complete intoxication;[p] I have seen Bacchanals and Bacchanalian nymphs crowned with ivy, fennel, and poplar, with convulsive agitations dance and howl through the streets, and invoke Bacchus with barbarous acclamations;[q] I have seen them tear the raw entrails of the victims with their teeth and nails, squeeze serpents in their hands, interweave them in their hair, twist them round their bodies, and by such kind of extravagancies, attract the attention of the terrified multitude.[r]

[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 328. [l] Athen. lib. 4. p. 168. [m] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 18. [n] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid. [o] Demosth. in Mid. p. 604. [p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637. [q] Demosth. de Coron. p. 516. [r] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 11.

Similar scenes are in some measure exhibited at a festival which is celebrated on the first appearance of spring. The city is then filled with strangers,[s] who repair thither in crowds, to bring the tribute of the islands subjected to the Athenians,[t] to see the new pieces presented at the theatre,[u] and to be present at the games and public shows, but, above all, at a procession which represents the triumph of Bacchus. In this the same retinue is exhibited with which that god is said to have been attended when he made the conquest of India; men who personate satyrs, others who represent the god Pan;[x] some dragging he-goats along to sacrifice them;[y] others mounted on asses in imitation of Silenus;[z] others disguised like women;[a] others again carrying obscene figures suspended on long poles,[b] and singing the most licentious hymns:[c] in fine, all sorts of persons, of both sexes, most of them clad in the skins of fawns,[d] concealed under masks,[e] crowned with ivy, either drunk or feigning to be so,[f] mingling their uninterrupted shouts with the sound of instruments; some agitating their bodies like madmen, and abandoning themselves to all the convulsions of fury; others executing regular and military

[s] Demosth. in Mid. p. 637. [t] Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 377. [u] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 603. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 311. [x] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 926. Athen. lib. 5. p. 197. [y] Plut. de Cup. Divit. t. ii. p. 527. [z] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 688. [a] Hesych. in Ἰθύφαλ. [b] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 49. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 242. [c] Aristoph. ibid. v. 260. [d] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1242. Athen. lib. 4. c. 12. p. 148. [e] Plut. de Cup. Divit. ibid. Athen. lib. 14. p. 622. [f] Demosth. in Mid. p. 632.

dances, but holding vases instead of bucklers, and throwing thyrsi in the manner of darts, with which they sometimes menace and insult the spectators.[g]

In the midst of these bands of furies, the choruses deputed by the different tribes, advance in the most perfect order;[h] and a number of young women, of the most distinguished families of the city, walk with downcast eyes,[i] decked out in all their ornaments, and bearing on their heads the sacred baskets, which, besides offerings of the earliest fruits, contain cakes of different forms, grains of salt, ivy leaves, and other mysterious symbols.[k]

The roofs of the houses, which are in the form of terraces, are covered with spectators, and especially women, most of them with lamps and torches,[l] to light the procession, which almost always begins its march at night,[m] halting in the squares and public places, to make libations, and offer up victims in honour of Bacchus.[n]

The day is consecrated to different games. The company repair early to the theatre,[o] either to be present at the competitions in music and dancing between the choruses, or to see the new pieces which the poets have prepared for the occasion.

The first of the nine archons presides at these

[g] Demosth. ibid. Athen. lib. 14. p. 631. [h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 475. [i] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 241. Schol. ibid. Id. v. 253, &c. [k] Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 19. Castellan. in Dionys. [l] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 261. Casaub. in Athen. lib. 4. c. 12. [m] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 1161. Schol. ibid. [n] Demosth. in Mid. p. 611. [o] Id. ibid. p. 615.

festivals;[p] the second at other solemnities;[q] and both have officers under them to relieve them in their functions,[r] and guards to drive all persons from the theatre, or other spectacles, who are the occasion of any disturbance.[s]

As long as these festivals continue, the least violence done to a citizen is criminal, and no creditor is allowed to prosecute his debtor. All crimes and disorders committed at this time are severely punished on the succeeding days.[t]

The women alone participate in the festivals of Adonis,[u] and in those which, under the name of Thesmophoria, are celebrated in honour of Ceres and Proserpine:[x] both of these are accompanied with ceremonies which I have more than once described. With respect to the latter, I shall only observe, that they begin every year in the month of Pyanepsion,* and last several days.

Among the objects worthy of notice, I saw Athenian women of different ages repair to Eleusis, there to pass a complete day in the temple, seated on the ground, and observing a strict fast.[y] Why this abstinence? said I to one of them, who presided at the festival. She replied: Because Ceres took no nourishment while in search of her daughter Proser-

[p] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 89. Plut. in Cim. p. 483. [q] Poll. ibid. § 90. [r] Demosth. in Mid. p. 605. [s] Id. ibid. p. 631. [t] Id. ibid. p. 604. [u] Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 1. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 98. [x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 203. * This month began alternately about the latter end of October, and the beginning of November. [y] Plut. de Is. et Osir. t. ii. p. 378. Athen. lib. 7. c. 16.

pine.[z] I asked again: Why, in going to Eleusis, do you carry books on your heads? They contain the laws which we believe to have been received from Ceres.[a]—Why, in this splendid procession, while the air resounds with your songs, do you bear along a large basket on a car drawn by four white horses?[b] It contains, among other things, the different kinds of grain, of which we owe the cultivation to Ceres. For a like reason, in the festivals of Minerva, we carry baskets filled with wool,[c] because she taught us to spin. The best mode of expressing gratitude for a benefit received, is to bear it perpetually in mind, and to refer, at times, to its author.

[z] Callim. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 12. [a] Schol. Theocr. Idyll. 4. v. 25. [b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. page 224. [c] Spanh. in Callim. v. 1. t. ii. p. 652.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Houses and Entertainments of the Athenians.

THE houses of the Athenians in general consist of two sets of apartments; the upper story for the women, and the lower for the men.[y] The roofs have terraces,[z] with a large projection at each extremity.[a] Athens is reckoned to contain upwards of ten thousand houses.[b]

A considerable number have gardens behind them, and in the front a small court, or rather a sort of portico,[d] at the end of which is the house door, sometimes entrusted to the care of an eunuch.[e] We there find sometimes either a figure of Mercury to drive away thieves,[f] or a dog, who is a much more effectual guard,[g] and almost always an altar in honour of Apollo, on which the master of the house sacrifices on certain days.[h]

[y] Lys. de Cæd. Eratosth. p. 6. [z] Plin. lib. 36. c. 25. p. 756. [a] Aristot. Œconom. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. c. 9. § 30. [b] Xenoph. Memor. p. 774. [c] Terent. in Adelph. act. 5. scen. 5. v. 10. [d] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Vitruv. lib. 6. c. 10. p. 119. [e] Plat. ibid. t. i. p. 314. [f] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 1155. Schol. ibid. [g] Id. in Lysist. v. 1217. Theophr. Charact. c. 4. Apollodor. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 3. [h] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 870. Schol. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 328.

rich veil, contained sacred utensils, cakes, and every thing necessary for the sacrifices.[l] Female attendants, who followed them, with one hand held over them an umbrella, and carried in the other a folding chair.[m] This is a species of servitude imposed on the daughters of all foreigners settled at Athens: a servitude they share in common with their fathers and mothers, who likewise carried on their shoulders vessels filled with water and honey, for the purpose of libations.[n]

They were followed by eight musicians, four of whom played on the flute, and four on the lyre.[o] After them came rhapsodists singing the poems of Homer,[p] and dancers armed at all points, who, attacking each other at intervals, represented to the sound of the flute, the battle of Minerva with the Titans.[q]

Next came a ship that appeared to glide over the ground by the power of the wind and the efforts of a great number of rowers, but which really was put in motion by concealed machinery.[r] The vessel had a sail of light stuff,[s] on which young girls had represented in embroidery the victory of Minerva over the Titans.[t] On it also they depicted, by order of the

[l] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 948. [m] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1550. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 1. [n] Ælian. ibid. Harpocr. in Μετοικ. Id. et Hesych. in Σκαφ. Poll. lib. 3. c. 4. § 55. [o] Drawings of Nointel, preserved in the king of France's library. [p] Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 161. Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228. [q] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 984. Schol. ibid. Lys. in Mun. Accept. p. 374. Meurs. Panathen. c. 12. [r] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. page 17. Philostr. in Sophist. lib. 2. page 550. Meurs. Panath. c. 19. Harpocr. in Πέπλ. [s] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. [t] Eurip. in Hecub. v. 466. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Πέπλ.

government, some heroes whose illustrious deeds had merited to be celebrated with those of the gods.[u]

This procession advanced with solemn steps, under the direction of several magistrates,[x] and passed through the most frequented quarter of the city, amidst a crowd of spectators, most of whom were placed on scaffolds erected for the occasion.[y] When it had reached the temple of the Pythian Apollo,[z] the sail of the ship was taken down and carried to the citadel, where it was deposited in the temple of Minerva.[a]

In the evening I followed the crowd to the Academy to see the torch-race. The course is only six or seven stadia in length.[b] It extends from the altar of Prometheus, which is at the gate of this garden, to the walls of the city.[c] Several young men are stationed in this interval at equal distances.[d] When the shouts of the multitude have given the signal,[e] the first lights his flambeau at the altar,[f] and running with it, hands it to the second, who transmits it in the same manner to the third, and so successively.[g] He who suffers it to be extinguished can no more enter the lists,[h] and they who slacken their pace are exposed to the railleries and even blows of the populace.[i] To gain the

[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 562. Schol. ibid. [x] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 93. [y] Athen. lib. 4. p. 167. [z] Philostr. in Sophist. lib. 2. p. 550. [a] Plut. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. [b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 196. [c] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 30. p. 75. [d] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 98. [e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 133. [f] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 79. [g] Herodot. ibid. Æschyl. in Agam. v. 320. Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 5. in Lampad. [h] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 75. [i] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1125. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Κεραμ.

employed artificial aids to rival the bloom of the rose and the lily.[u] She was dressed in a white robe, such as is generally worn by women of distinction.[x]

At this moment we heard a voice inquiring whether Lysistrate was at home.[y] Yes, answered a slave, who immediately entered to announce Eucharis, a female friend of Lysistrate, who ran to meet her, tenderly embraced her, sat down by her, and never ceased praising her on her figure and adjustment. How divinely you look! it is impossible to be better dressed. This stuff is charming, and becomes you wonderfully—How much did it cost?[z]

As I perceived that this conversation would not be soon ended, I requested the permission of Lysistrate to examine the rest of the apartment. The first object that attracted my attention was the toilet. I there saw silver basons and ewers; different sorts of mirrors; bodkins to disentangle the hair, irons to curl it,[a] fillets of different breadths to bind it, nets to confine it,[b] yellow powder to colour it;[c] bracelets and ear-rings of various kinds; boxes containing red and white paint; black to tinge the eye brows; and every utensil necessary for cleansing the teeth.[d]

I examined all these objects with the greatest attention; Dinias, however, seemed unable to compre-

[u] Lys. de Cæd. Eratosth. p. 8. Athen. lib. 13. c. 3. p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐψιμ. et in Ἐγκ. [x] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 848. Schol. ibid. [y] Theocr. Idyll. 15. v. 1. [z] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 78. Theocr. ibid. v. 34. [a] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40. Poll. lib. 5. c. 16. § 95. Not. Var. ibid. [b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 22. v. 468. [c] Hesych. in Θάψιν. Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2. v. 88. [d] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40.

hend why they should appear novel to a Scythian. He next showed me his own portrait, and that of his lady;[o] and on my appearing astonished at the elegance of his furniture, told me that, desirous to avail himself of the industry and superior ingenuity of foreign workmen, he had procured his seats to be made in Thessaly,[f] his mattresses at Corinth,[g] and his pillows at Carthage;[h] and, seeing my surprise increase, he laughed at my simplicity, and, in vindication of himself, added, that Xenophon appeared in the army with an Argive buckler, an Athenian cuirass, a Bœotian helmet, and a horse from Epidaurus.[i]

We now proceeded to the apartments of the men, in the centre of which we found a small grass-plat,[k] surrounded by four porticos, the walls of which were lined with stucco, and wainscoted.[l] These porticos communicated with several halls or chambers, most of them beautifully decorated. The elegance of the furniture was heightened by gold and ivory;[m] the walls and cielings[n] were ornamented with paintings;[o] the tapestry of the doors,[p] and the carpeting, manufactured at Babylon, represented Persians with their sweeping robes, vultures and different kinds of birds, and various fantastic animals.[q]

[e] Theophr. Charact. c. 2. [f] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 28. Poll. lib. 10. c. 11. § 48. [g] Antiph. ap. Athen. p. 27. [h] Hermipp. ibid. p. 28. [i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. p. 24. Poll. lib. 1. c. 10. § 149. [k] Plin. Jun. lib. 7. epist. 27. [l] Vitruv. lib. 6. c. 10. [m] Bacchyl. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 39. [n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 529. [o] Andoc. de Alcib. part 2. p. 31. Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 844. [p] Theophr. Charact. c. 5. [q] Callixen. ap. Athen. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 197. Hipparch. ap. eund. lib. 11. c. 7. p. 477. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 969. Spanh. ibid. p. 312.

Nor did Dinias display less luxury at his table than in his house. I shall give, from my journal, a description of the first supper to which I was invited with my friend Philotas.

The company was to assemble towards the evening, as soon as the shade of the gnomon should be twelve feet long.[r] We were careful to be neither too soon nor too late, agreeable to the rules of Athenian politeness.[s] We found Dinias hurrying about and giving his orders. He introduced to us Philonides, one of those parasites who ingratiate themselves with the rich, to do the honours of the house and furnish amusement for the guests.[t] From time to time, we observed him shaking off the dust that stuck upon the robe of Dinias.[u] A moment after arrived Nicocles the physician, much fatigued: he had a great many patients, he said; but their ailments were only slight colds and coughs, the consequence of the rains that had fallen since the beginning of autumn.[x] He was soon followed by Leon, Zopyrus and Theotimus, three Athenians of distinction attached to Dinias from love of pleasure. Last of all, Democharès made his appearance, uninvited.[y] He was a man of wit and agreeable talents, and met with the most welcome reception from the whole company.

We passed into the dining-room, where frankin-

[r] Hesych. in Δωδεκ. Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 10. p. 243. Casaub. ibid. [s] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 7. v. 24. Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. quæst. 6. t. ii. p. 726. [t] Theoph. Charact. c. 20. [u] Id. ibid. c. 2. [x] Hippocr. Aphorism. sec. 3. § 12. [y] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 174.

cense and other odours were burning.[a] On the side-board were displayed silver and gilt vases, some of them enriched with precious stones.[a]

Some slaves in waiting now poured water on our hands,[b] and placed chaplets on our heads.[c] We drew by lot for king of the banquet,[d] whose office it is to keep the company within bounds, without checking a proper degree of freedom; to give the signal for circulating bumpers; name the toasts, and see that all the laws of drinking are observed.* Chance decided in favour of Democharès.

After the table had been several times wiped with a sponge,[e] we seated ourselves around it on couches,[f] with coverlets of purple.[g] The bill of fare of the supper being brought to Dinias,[h] we set apart the first portion of it for the altar of Diana.[i] Each of us had brought his servant.[k] Dinias was waited on by a negro, one of those Æthiopian slaves who are pur-

[a] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 101. [a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 417. Theophr. Charact. c. 23. Id. de Lapid. § 63. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193. [b] Athen. lib. 9. c. 1. p. 366. Duport. in Theophr. p. 454. [c] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 101. [d] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 973. Laërt. lib. 8. § 64. Plut. Sympos. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 620. * By one of these laws a man must either drink or leave the table (Cicer. Tuscul. 5. c. 41. t. ii. p. 395.) Sometimes the company contented themselves with pouring on the head of the delinquent the wine he refused to drink (Laert. lib. 8. § 64.) [e] Homer. Odyss. lib. 20. v. 154. Martial. Epigr. 142. lib. 14. [f] Xen. Memor. lib. 5. p. 842. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. ultim. t. ii. p. 448. [g] Athen. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 48. [h] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 49. [i] Theophr. Charact. c. 10. Duport. ibid. [k] Id. ibid. c. 9.

chased by the rich at a great price, to distinguish themselves from other citizens.[l]

I shall not enter into a minute detail of an entertainment which every moment afforded us fresh proofs of the opulence and prodigality of Dinias: to give a general idea of it will be sufficient.

We were first presented with several sorts of shell-fish; some as they come out of the sea; others roasted on the ashes, or fried in stoves; and most of them seasoned with pepper and cumin.[m] Fresh eggs were served up at the same time, both of common fowls and pea-hens, the latter of which are in the highest estimation;[n] sausages,[o] pigs' feet,[p] a wild boar's liver,[q] a lamb's head,[r] calves' chitterlings,[s] a sow's belly, seasoned with cumin, vinegar, and silphium;[t] small birds, on which was poured a very hot sauce composed of scraped cheese, oil, vinegar, and silphium.[u] In the second course we were presented with whatever was esteemed most exquisite in game, poultry, and particularly fish. The third course consisted of fruit.

Among the multitude of dainties that were successively placed on the table, each guest had the liberty of choosing what was most agreeable to the

[l] Theophr. Charact. c. 21. Casaub. ibid. Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1. scen. 2. v. 85. [m] Athen. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 90, &c. [n] Triph. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 58. [o] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 161. Henric. Steph. in Αλλας. [p] Ecphant. et Pherecer. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 96. [q] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 7. c. 24. p. 330. [r] Id. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 716. [t] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 101. [u] Aristoph. in Av. v. 532 et 1578.

taste of his friends, and sending it to them :[x] an attention seldom omitted at ceremonious entertainments.

No sooner had we begun supper, than Demochares, taking a cup, slightly applied it to his lips, and handed it round the table; each of us touching the liquor in his turn. The first taste is considered as the symbol and bond of friendship by which the guests are united. Other full cups quickly followed this, regulated by the healths Demochares drank, sometimes to one, sometimes to another,[y] and which the person drank to immediately returned.

The conversation at table was lively, without interruption, or any particular object, and insensibly led to pleasantries respecting the suppers of men of wit and philosophers, who lose moments so precious in puzzling each other with riddles and ænigmas,[z] or in a methodical discussion of the most obscure questions in morals or metaphysics.[a] By way of ridiculing this practice, Democharesproposed that we should display our knowledge in the choice of the dishes most agreeable to the palate, the art of preparing them, and the facility of procuring them at Athens. As we had determined to imitate as closely as possible the banquets of the sages, it was agreed that each person present should speak in his turn, and treat his subject with

[x] Id. in Acharn. v. 1048. Theophr. Charact. c. 17. Casaub. ibid. p. 137. [y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 3. Aristoph. in Lys. v. 204. Athen. lib. 10. p. 432 et 444. Feith. Antiq. Homer. lib. 3. p. 306. [z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 404. Athen. lib. 10. c. 15. p. 448. [a] Plat. Conviv. t. iii. p. 172. Xen, ibid. p. 872. Plut. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 146.

the utmost gravity, without being either too prolix, or too negligent in his details.

I was to begin; but, as I was but little acquainted with the subject which was to be discussed, I was on the point of making my excuse, when Democharès begged me to give the company an idea of the Scythian repasts. I answered in a few words, that their sole food was honey, and the milk of cows or mares,[b] to which they were so accustomed from their birth, as not to stand in need of nurses;[c] that they received the milk in large pails, and churned it a considerable time to separate the most delicate part of it from the rest, an employment which they allotted to such prisoners as the chance of war threw into their hands;[d] but I was careful not to add, that they put out the eyes of these unhappy men, to prevent them from escaping.

After other particulars which I suppress, Leon, taking up the conversation, said: The Athenians are perpetually reproached with their frugality.[e] Our meals, indeed, are in general shorter and less sumptuous than those of the Thebans and some other of the Grecian states;[f] but we have begun to follow their example, and presently they will follow our's. Every day we add new refinements to the pleasures of the table, and see our ancient simplicity gradually disappear, with all those patriotic virtues which ori-

[b] Justin. lib. 2. c. 2. [c] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 226. [d] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 2. [e] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 47. [f] Diphil. et Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 17 et 18. Eubul. ap. eund. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 417.

ginated in necessity, and could not be the growth of all ages. Let our orators remind us as often as they please of the battles of Marathon and Salamis, let strangers admire the monuments that decorate this city—Athens possesses a more substantial advantage, in my eyes, in that abundance which we enjoy here during the whole year, and in that market which daily presents to us the choicest productions of the islands and the continent. I am not afraid to assert it, there is no country in which it is easier to find good cheer, not excepting even Sicily.

We have nothing to wish for with respect to butcher's meat and fowls. Our poultry yards, either in town or country, are admirably stocked with capons,[g] pigeons,[h] ducks,[i] chickens, and geese, which we have a particular art of fattening.[k] The seasons, in their succession, bring us becaficos,[l] quails,[m] thrushes,[n] larks,[o] redbreasts,[p] stockdoves,[q] turtles,[r] woodcocks,[s] and francolins.[t] The Phasis presents to us the birds that are the ornament of its banks, and which may be

[g] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 50. t. i. p. 956. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 763. Athen. lib. 9. c. 11. p. 393. [i] Athen. ibid. p. 395. Mnesim. ibid. c. 15. p. 403. [k] Athen. ibid. c. 8. p. 384. Varr. de Re Rustic. lib. 3. c. 8. § 9. Cicer. Acad. lib. 2. c. 18. t. ii. p. 26. Plin. lib. 10. c. 50. t. i. p. 571. [l] Aristot. ib. lib. 8. c. 3. t. i. p. 902. Athen. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 65. Epicharm. ibid. lib. 9. p. 398. [m] Athen. ibid. c. 10. p. 392. [n] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1149. Athen. lib. 2. p. 64. [o] Aristot. ibid. lib. 9. c. 25. t. i. p. 935. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 902. Plin. lib. 10. c. 9. p. 561. [q] Aristot. ibid. Athen. lib. 9. p. 393. [r] Aristot. ibid. Athen. ibid. p. 394. [s] Aristot. ibid. cap. 26. p. 936. [t] Aristoph. et Alexand. apud Athen. lib. 9. p. 387. Phœnic. ap. eund. lib. 14. c. 18. p. 652. Aristot. ibid. lib. 9. c. 49. p. 955.

styled, with still more justice, the ornament of our tables. They begin to multiply among us in the pheasant-grounds established by some wealthy individuals.[u] Our plains are covered with hares and partridges;[x] our hills with thyme, rosemary, and other herbs fit to give a flavour and perfume to our rabbits. The adjacent forests furnish us with boars and their young ones;[y] and from the isle of Melos we have the best roebucks in Greece.[z]

The sea too, said Zopyrus, taking up the discourse, attentive to remit the tribute due to her masters, enriches our tables with delicate fish.[a] We have the lamprey,[b] the dorado,[c] the weever,[d] the xiphias,[e]* the pagrus,[f] the shad,[g] and tunnies in abundance.[h]

Nothing is comparable to the conger-eel we procure from Sicyon,[i] the glaucus taken at Megara,[k] the

[u] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 109. Schol. ibid. Aristot. lib. 6. c. 2. t. i. p. 859. Philox. ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 2. p. 147. [x] Athen. lib. 9. p. 388. Wheler's Journey, &c. book 5. p. 352. [y] Xen. de Venat. p. 991. Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. c. 15. p. 403. Spon. t. ii. p. 56. [z] Athen. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 4. [a] Spon. ibid. p. 147. Whel. ibid. [b] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 909. Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. c. 18. p. 312. [c] Epich. et Archestr. ap. Athen. lib 7. c. 24. p. 328. Aldrov. de Pisc. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 169. Gesn. de Pisc. p. 128. [d] Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. c. 15. p. 403. Aldrov. ib. lib. 2. p. 255. [e] Athen. lib. 7. c. 7. p. 282. Aldrov. ibid. lib. 3. p. 330. * This is the fish known in France by the name of the *espadon;* in Italy by that of the *pesce spada (Anglicè* the sword-fish.) [f] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 327. Aldrov. lib. 2. p. 149. Gesn. ibid. p. 773. [g] Aristot. lib. 9. c. 37. t. i. p. 941. Gesner. ibid. p. 21. Aldrov. p. 499. [h] Gesn. ibid. p. 1147. [i] Eudox. et Philem. ap. Athen. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 288. Aldrov. p. 348. Gesner. de Pisc. p. 345. [k] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 295.

turbot, the mackerel, the soles, the mullets and rochets that frequent our coasts.[l] The pilchards taken in other countries are the food of the common people; those we catch in the vicinity of Phalerum are worthy of the table of the gods, especially when left to steep only for a moment in boiling oil.[m]

The vulgar, dazzled by a name, imagine that every part of what is reputed a delicacy is equally delicate: but we, who analyze merit more minutely, prefer the fore part of the glaucus, the head of the barbel and the conger, the breast of the tunny, and the back of the scate,[n] and leave the rest to less difficult tastes.

To the abundant supplies of the sea, let us add those of the lakes of Bœötia. Are not fresh eels, equally remarkable for their delicacy and size, brought us every day from Lake Copais?[o] Nor ought we to forget, in this enumeration of our riches, that astonishing quantity of salt fish which we receive from the Hellespont, Byzantium, and the coasts of the Euxine.

Leon and Zopyrus, said Philotas, have treated of those dishes which form the basis of an entertainment. Those of the first and third course would require more profound erudition than I can pretend to possess, but would furnish no less convincing proofs of the advantages of our climate.

[l] Lync. Sam. ibid. page 285 et 330. Archestr. ibid. p. 288. Cratin. et Nausicr. ibid. p. 325. [m] Athen. lib. 7. c. 8. p. 285. Aldrov. de Pisc. lib. 2. p. 212. Gesn. ibid. p. 73; et alii. [n] Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 279. Antiphon. ibid. p. 295. Eriph. ibid. p. 302. [o] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 1004. . Id. in Lysistr. v. 36. Schol. ibid Athen. lib. 7. p. 297.

Lobsters and cray-fish[p] are as common with us as muscles, oysters,[q] urchins, or sea hedge-hogs;[r] the latter are sometimes dressed with oxymel, parsley, and mint.[s] They are delicious when caught at the full of the moon,[t] and by no means deserve the ill name given them by a Lacedæmonian, who never having seen this kind of shell-fish, put one of them into his mouth, and attempted to bite its bristly points.[u]

I shall say nothing of the mushrooms, the asparagus,[x] the various species of cucumbers,[y] and that infinite variety of vegetables which are brought fresh to market every day; but I cannot omit observing that the fruit of our gardens has a most exquisite flavour.[z] The superiority of our figs is universally admitted:[a] when fresh gathered, they are the favourite delicacy of the inhabitants of Attica, and, when carefully dried, are exported to distant countries, and find their way even to the table of the king of Persia.[b] Our pickled olives excite the appetite. Those we call colymbades* are more esteemed for their size and flavour than the olives of other countries:[c] nor are the grapes, known by the name of Nicostratian, in less

[p] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 815. Athen. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 104 et 105. Gesn. de Loc. et de Astac, &c. [q] Athen. ibid. p. 90. Archestr. ibid. p. 92. [r] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 822. Matron. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 135. [s] Athen. ibid. p. 91. [t] Id. ibid. p. 88. [u] Demetr. Scept. ap. Athen. p. 91. [x] Athen. lib. 3. p. 60, 62, &c. [y] Id. p. 67. [z] Aristot. Probl. sect. 20. t. ii. p. 774. [a] Athen. lib. 14. p. 652. [b] Dion. ap. eund. ibid. * The modern Greeks of Athens still call them by the same name; and the Grand Signior has them all monopolized for his own table. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 147. [c] Athen. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 133.

repute.[d] The art of grafting[e] bestows on our pears, and fruit in general, qualities which nature had refused them.[f] Eubœa furnishes us with excellent apples;[g] Phœnicia with dates;[h] Corinth with quinces, as delicious to the taste as they are beautiful to the eye;[i] and Naxos with that kind of almonds which are in high estimation through all Greece.[k]

The turn of the parasite being now come, we all redoubled our attention, and he began his harangue as follows:

The bread served at our tables, nay even that exposed to sale in the market, is of a dazzling whiteness and an admirable flavour.[l] The art of preparing it was brought to perfection in Sicily, in the last century, by Thearion:[m] it has been preserved among us in all its purity, and has contributed not a little to the progress of pastry. We are at present in possession of a thousand methods of converting every sort of flour into a wholesome and agreeable nutriment. If a little milk, oil, and salt be mixed with the flour of wheat, you will have the materials for those delicate loaves for which we are indebted to the Cappadocians.[n] Knead the dough with a little honey, and roll it into thin sheets, which will run up on approaching a quick fire, and you will produce these biscuits that

[d] Athen. lib. 14. c. 19. p. 654. [e] Aristot. de Plat. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 1016. [f] Athen. ibid. p. 653. [g] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 27. [h] Id. ibid. p. 28. Antiphan. ibid. p. 47. [i] Athen. lib. 3. p. 82. [k] Id. ibid. p. 52. [l] Archestr. et Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 112. [m] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518. [n] Athen. lib. 3. c. 28. p. 113.

have been just handed to us, and which you have dipped in wine;* but they must be served up burning hot.[o] These sweet and light cakes, which have been since presented to us,[p] are made in a stove with the flour of sesamum, honey, and oil.† Take some peeled barley, pound it in a mortar, and put the flour in a vessel; pour oil on it; keep stirring this mixture whilst it heats gently on the fire; feed it now and then with pullet, kid, or lamb gravy, taking special care not to let it boil over; and when stewed to the exact point of perfection, serve it up.[q] We have cakes made simply of milk and honey,[r] others in which the flour of sesamum and a little cheese or oil is added to the honey.[s] We have tarts, too, made with different sorts of fruit.[t] Hare pasties are of the same nature,[u] as well as the pies made of becafigos, and those little birds that fly about the vineyards.[x]

Philonides, as he pronounced these words, took possession of a tart made of raisins and almonds,[y] which was just brought in, and would proceed no farther in his oration.

We did not continue long in suspense, for Theotimus immediately took up the conversation. Many authors, said he, have written on the culinary art, that first of all arts, since it is that which procures us

* These were a sort of wafers. Casaub. in Athen. p. 131. [o] Antidot. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 25. p. 109. [p] Athen. lib. 14. c. 14. p. 646. † A kind of fritters. [q] Athen. lib. 3. c. 36. p. 126. Casaub. in Athen. p. 151. [r] Eupol. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 14. p. 646. [s] Athen. ibid. [t] Id. ibid. 648. Poll. lib. 6. c. 11. § 78. [u] Telecl. ap. Athen. ibid. p. 647 et 648. [x] Poll. lib. 6. c. 11. § 78. [y] Id. ibid.

the most frequent and most durable enjoyments. Such were Mithæcus, who has given us the Sicilian Cook;[a] Numenius of Heraclea, Hegemon of Thasos, Philoxenus of Leucas,[a] Actides of Chios, Tyndaricus of Sicyon,[b] and many others I could mention, for I have all their works in my library, but I prefer the Gastronomia of Archestratus to them all. This author, who was the friend of one of the sons of Pericles,[c] had travelled through various countries, to inform himself accurately of all their choicest productions.[d] During his travels his object was not to become acquainted with the manners of different nations, a knowledge of no sort of utility, since it is impossible to change them; but to procure admission into those laboratories in which the luxuries of the table are prepared, and to converse with those persons only who might contribute to his enjoyments. His poem is a treasure of information; not a verse in it but what contains a precept.

This work is, as I may say, the code in which several cooks have studied the principles of an art that has rendered them immortal;[e] an art long since brought to perfection in Sicily and Elis,[f] and which Thimbron, among us, has carried to the summit of its glory.[g] I am aware that the persons who exercise it have often, by their pretensions, deservedly been ridiculed on the stage;[h] but without the enthusiasm

[a] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518. [a] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 5. [b] Id. lib. 14. c. 23. p. 662. Poll. lib. 6. c. 10. § 71. [c] Id. lib. 5. c. 20. p. 220. [d] Id. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 278. [e] Id. ibid. p. 293. [f] Id. lib. 14. p. 661. [g] Id. lib. 7. p. 293. [h] Damoxen. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 101. Philem. ibid. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 288. Hegesand. ibid. p. 289.

they never would have possessed the genius of their profession.

My own cook, whom I have lately sent for from Syracuse, astonished me the other day with an enumeration of the qualifications and study requisite for his employment. After telling me, by the way, that Cadmus, the grandsire of Bacchus, and founder of Thebes, was originally a cook to the king of Sidon;[l] Do you know, added he, that properly to discharge the office I hold, it is not enough to possess senses exquisitely refined, and a constitution proof against every attack,[k] but that it is necessary to combine the greatest abilities with the most extensive information?[m] I do not employ myself in any of the vile functions of your kitchen; I never appear there but to direct the action of the fire, and to observe the effect of my operations. Seated in general in an adjacent chamber, I issue orders to be executed by subordinate artists.[m] I meditate on the productions of nature: sometimes I leave them in their simplicity; sometimes I disguise or mix them, as new proportions which appear best calculated to gratify your palate may occur to me. Am I, for instance, to give you a sucking-pig, or a large piece of beef—I content myself with boiling them.[n] Do you wish for an excellent hare—if young, it requires no recommendation but its intrinsic merit to appear before you with approbation:

[l] Evemer. ibid. lib. 14. c. 22. p. 658. [k] Pofeid. ibid. lib. 14. p. 661. [l] Damox. ibid. c. 22. p. 102. [m] Id. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 22. p. 102. [n] Athen. lib. 2. p. 63; lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 375.

I put it on the spit, and serve it up to you all bleeding.[o] But it is the refinement of combination which displays my science in all its lustre.

The principal agents I make use of are salt, pepper, oil, vinegar, and honey; and of these, better than Attica affords cannot be found in any country. Your oil is excellent,[p] as well as your vinegar of Decelia;[q] your honey of Mount Hymettus[r] deserves the preference even to that of Sicily itself. Besides these ingredients, in ragouts[s] we employ eggs, cheese, dried raisins, silphium,* parsley, sesamum, cummin, capers, cresses, fennel, mint, coriander, carrots, garlic, onions; and various aromatic plants much in use among us, such as the origanum,† and the exquisite thyme of Mount Hymettus.[t] These, if I may so speak, are powers at the disposal of an artist, but which he should never lavish. If a fish, the flesh of which is firm, be sent to me to dress, I take care to give it a sprinkling of scraped cheese, and to moisten it with vinegar; but if it be of a more delicate kind, I only throw a little salt over it, and a few drops of oil,[u] or by way of change, after garnishing it with origanum leaves, I wrap it up in a fig leaf, and broil it under the ashes.[x]

A good cook will not multiply mixtures and ex-

[o] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 9. c. 14. p. 319. [p] Spon. t. ii. p. 146. [q] Athen. lib. 2. c. 26. p. 67. [r] Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 74. Spon. ibid. p. 130. [s] Athen. lib. 2. c. 26. p. 68. Poll. lib. 6. c. 10. § 66. * A plant but little known, but made great use of by the ancients in their repasts. † A sort of wild marjoram. [t] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 28. [u] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. c. 20. p. 321. [x] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 278.

pedients, except in sauces or ragouts; of which we have various sorts, some sharp, and others sweet. The sauce that may be served with all boiled or roasted fish,[y] is composed of vinegar, scraped cheese, and garlic, to which may be added a few leeks and onions, cut small.[z] When you wish to have it not so strong, it may be mixed up with oil, the yolks of eggs, leeks, garlic, and cheese;[a] if you desire it still milder, honey, dates, cummin, and other ingredients of the same nature may be used.[b] But mixtures of this sort must not be left to the caprice of every ignorant pretender.

The same may be said of stuffings introduced into the belly of a fish. Every cook knows that the fish must be opened, and that, after taking out the bones, it should be filled with silphium, cheese, salt, and origanum:[c] he knows, likewise, that a pig may be stuffed with thrushes, becafigos, yolks of eggs, oysters, and different kinds of shell fish.[d] But, believe me, there is no end to the variety of these mixtures, and nothing short of very long and profound researches will suffice to render them equally agreeable to the palate, and conducive to health; for my art is allied to all the sciences,* but more immediately to

[y] Anan. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 282. [z] Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 62. Dalech. Not. in Athen. p. 745 et 750. [a] Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 768. [b] Hesych. in Ὑπέρριμ. [c] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 322. [d] Athen. lib. 4. p. 129. * The reader may compare the language which the Greek comic writers put into the mouths of the cooks of their time, with that Montaigne gives us, in a few words, of the *Maître d'Hotel* of Cardinal Caraffe, liv. 1. c. 51.

medicine. Must I not be supposed to know the herbs which, in each season, have the most juice and virtue? Shall I venture to bring to your table in summer a fish that should only make its appearance there in winter? Are not certain aliments more easy of digestion at certain times; and is it not from the preference we give to some of these over others, that the greatest part of the maladies to which we are subject proceed?[e]

At these words, Nicocles the physician, who had hitherto continued to eat silently and indiscriminately every thing that came in his way, eagerly exclaimed, Your cook proceeds on true principles. Nothing is so essential as the choice of aliments, nothing requires more attention. This should be regulated, in the first place, by the nature of the climate, by the variations of the air and seasons, by the differences of age and constitution,[f] and next by the more or less nutritive qualities peculiar to the various kinds of meat, fish, vegetables, and fruit. The flesh of beef, for instance, is hard and difficult to digest; that of veal is less so; in like manner, the flesh of lamb is lighter than that of mutton, and kid than that of goat.[g] Pork, as well as wild boar, is desiccatory, but it strengthens and passes easily. Sucking pig is heavy. The flesh of hare is dry and astringent.[h] In general, the flesh of wild animals is less succulent than that of domestic ones; that of animals which feed

[e] Nicom. ap. Athen. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 291. [f] Hippocrat. de Diæt. lib. 3. cap. 1. &c. t. i. p. 241. [g] Id. lib. 2. p. 219. § 15. [h] Id. ibid. p. 220.

on fruit than that of those which live on herbs; that of males than that of females; that of black than that of white; and that of crinigerous than that of smooth animals; such is the doctrine of Hippocrates.[i]

All liquors, in like manner, have their properties. Wine is dry and heating, and has something purgative in its nature:[k] sweet wines fly to the head,[l] the red are nourishing, the white aperitive; clarets dry, and favourable to digestion.[m] Hippocrates tells us, that new wines are more laxative than old, as they approach nearer to the nature of must;[n] aromatics are more nutritive than others;[o] your red mellow wines ——

Nicocles was continuing his dissertation; but Dinias, suddenly interrupting him, exclaimed, I pay no attention to such distinctions, but I banish from my table the wines of Zacynthus and of Leucas, because I believe them to be unwholesome, on account of the plaster that is mixed with them.[p] I do not like that of Corinth, for it is harsh;[q] nor that of Icaria, because, in addition to this fault, it is heady:[r] I esteem the old wine of Corcyra, which is exceedingly pleasant,[s] and the white wine of Mende, remarkable for its delicacy.[t] Archilochus compared that of Naxos to nectar;[u] but I should compare the

[i] Id. ibid. p. 222. § 20. [k] Id. lib. 3. p. 223. § 22. [l] Diocl. et Praxag. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. [m] Mnesith. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. [n] Hippocr. de Diæt. p. 224. [o] Id. ibid. p. 223. [p] Athen. lib. 1. c. 25. p. 33. Eustath. in Homer. Odyss. lib. 7. t. iii. p. 1573. lin. 25. [q] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 30. [r] Id. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. p. 33. [t] Id. ibid. p. 29. [u] Id. ibid. p. 30.

wine of Thasos to that divine liquor.[x] I prefer it to every kind of wine, except that of Chios, when of the first quality; for there are three sorts of it.[y]

In Greece we are fond of sweet and odoriferous wines.[z] In some places they sweeten them by putting flour, kneaded with honey, into the cask;[a] and almost every where origanum,[b] aromatics, fruits, and flowers, are infused in them. My pleasure is, on opening one of my barrels, to have the odour of violets and roses instantly exhale, and fill my cellar;[c] not that I would wish to have one sense too much gratified at the expense of another. The wine of Byblos, in Phœnicia, surprises at first by the strength of the perfumes with which it is impregnated: I have a good stock of it; yet I hold it greatly inferior to that of Lesbos, which, though less highly scented, is infinitely more grateful to the palate.[d] Do you wish for an agreeable and wholesome beverage? Mix your fragrant and rich wines with those of an opposite quality. Such is the mixture of the wine of Erythræa with that of Heraclea.[e]

Sea water mixed with wine is said to aid digestion, and prevent the wine from flying to the head; but it must not be too predominant, which is the fault of the Rhodian wines; a fault which is avoided in those

[x] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 1022. Schol. ibid. Id. in Lysistr. v. 196. Spanh. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 545. Plin. lib. 34. c. 7. p. 717. [y] Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. Hermipp. ibid. p. 29. [z] Athen. lib. 1. p. 30. [a] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32. [b] Aristot. Problem. § 20. t. ii. p. 776. Span. in Plut. Aristophan. v. 809. [c] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 29. [d] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. [e] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32.

of Cos.[f] I believe one measure of sea water is sufficient for fifty of wine, especially if, in preparing it, the new methods are adopted in preference to the old.[g]

Learned researches have taught us to mix our liquors with exactness. The usual proportion of wine with water is as two to five, or as one to three;[h] but with our friends, we choose rather to reverse this proportion, and, towards the end of the entertainment, to forget all these austere rules.

Solon prohibited the use of pure wine. Of all his laws, this is perhaps the most religiously observed, thanks to the perfidy of our merchants, who weaken this precious liquor.[i] As for myself, I import my own wine, and you may rely upon it, that the law of Solon will be uniformly violated during the whole of this entertainment.

As he ended these words, Dinias sent for several bottles which had been kept ten years, and which were soon followed by others still older.[k]

We now drank about almost without interruption. Democharès, after giving several toasts, took up a lyre, and, whilst he was tuning it, entertained us with an account of the custom of intermixing songs with the pleasures of the table. Formerly, said he, all the guests sang together, and in unison;[l] but after-

[f] Athen. p. 32. [g] Phan. Eres. ap. Athen. p. 31. [h] Hesiod. Oper. v. 596. Athen. lib. 10. p. 426 et 430. Casaub. in Athen. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 454. Spanh. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 1133. [i] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 431. [k] Athen. lib. 13. p. 584 et 585. [l] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 324.

wards it became the established rule for each person to sing in his turn,[m] holding a branch of myrtle or laurel in his hand. The mirth was less tumultuous, indeed, but ceased to be so lively; and it was still farther restrained, when the lyre was introduced to accompany the voice,[n] for then the several guests were absolutely reduced to silence. Themistocles was formerly reproached, with justice, for having neglected to acquire skill in this pleasing art; in our time Epaminondas has been much commended for having cultivated it.[o] But when too great a value is set on such accomplishments, they become a study. The art attains perfection at the expense of pleasure and hilarity, and success is only attended with a smile.

Convivial songs at first contained only expressions of gratitude, or lessons of wisdom. We then celebrated in them, as we do still, the gods, heroes, and citizens who had benefited their country. To subjects of so grave a nature, in process of time, were added the praises of wine; and poetry, employed to depict its pleasing effects in the most lively colours, painted at the same time that confusion of ideas, those tumultuous emotions, which we experience with our friends at the sight of the liquor sparkling in the cups. Hence all those Bacchanalian songs, interspersed with maxims, sometimes relative to happiness and virtue, and sometimes to love and friendship. For it is to these two sentiments that the soul delights

[m] Athen. lib. 15. c. 14. p. 694. Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1337. [n] Plut. Sympos. lib. 1. quæst. i. t. ii. p. 615. [o] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 234.

continually to recur, when overpowered with an excess of joy.

Several poets have exercised their genius in this species of composition, and some of them with distinguished success. Alcæus and Anacreon have given it celebrity. It requires no efforts; for in its nature it is an enemy to artifice. Magnificence of expression and ideas may with propriety be employed to exalt gods and heroes, but it is the exclusive province of enthusiasm and the graces to paint sentiment and pleasure.

Let us resign ourselves, then, added Democharès, to the transports inspired by this happy moment; let us sing all together, or by turns, holding in our hands branches of laurel or of myrtle.[p]

We instantly obeyed his command, and, after various songs suitable to the occasion, sung in full chorus that of Harmodius and Aristogiton.[q]* Democharès accompanied us at intervals; but, seized with a new enthusiasm, he suddenly exclaimed, My disobedient lyre rejects such noble themes, and reserves all its notes for the songster of wine and love. How do its strings vibrate at the very name of Anacreon, and send forth harmonious sounds! O my friends! let the wine flow in copious streams; join your voices to mine, and aid me to vary the modulations.

Let us drink, let us sing Bacchus: he delights in

[p] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 1367. Id. in Vesp. v. 1217.
[q] Athen. lib. 15. c. 15. p. 695. * It was frequently sung at entertainments. I have already given it in Note IV. of the Introduction.

our dances, he takes pleasure in our songs; he triumphs over envy, hatred, and chagrin;[r] the seducing graces,[s] and the enchanting loves, owe to him their birth. Let us love, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

The future does not yet exist; the present is soon no more: life is only the moment we enjoy.[t] Let us love, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

Wise in our follies,[u] rich in our pleasures, let us trample under foot the earth and its vain grandeur;[x] and, in that delicious intoxication with which these glorious moments inspire our souls, let us drink, let us sing Bacchus.

We now heard a great noise at the gate, and Callicles, Nicostratus, and other young men made their appearance, bringing with them some dancing girls, and female performers on the flute, with whom they had supped.[y] Most of the company immediately rose from table, and began to dance; for the Athenians are so passionately fond of this exercise, that they consider it as a want of politeness not to join in it whenever circumstances require.[z] Several relishes for the purpose of stimulating the appetite were brought in at the same time; such as cercopes * and grasshoppers,[a] sliced radishes pickled in vinegar and

[r] Anacreon. od. 26. 39. 42. &c. [s] Id. od. 41. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 11. [t] Id. od. 4. 15. 24. &c. [u] Id. od. 48. [x] Id. od. 26. [y] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 212. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 347. [z] Alexis, ap. Athen. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 134. Theophr. Charact. c. 15. * A little animal resembling a grasshopper. Athen. p. 133. [a] Aristoph. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 133.

mustard,[b] roasted vetches,[c] and olives taken fresh out of the pickle.[d]

This new service, accompanied with a fresh stock of wine, and larger goblets than we had hitherto made use of,[e] seemed the prelude to excesses which were fortunately interrupted by an unexpected scene. On the arrival of Callicles, Theotimus had stepped out of the room, and now returned, followed by some of those jugglers and buffoons, who amuse the populace by their deceptions in the streets and markets of the city.[f]

The table was soon after cleared. We made libations in honour of the Good Genius and Jupiter Saviour;[g] and, after washing our hands in perfumed water,[h] our jugglers began their tricks. One placed a certain number of shells, or little balls, under dice boxes, which he caused to vanish or appear at his command, with such dexterity as to escape the eye.[i] Another wrote or read, at the same time whirling round with the utmost rapidity.[k] Some there were who vomited flames from their mouths, or walked with their heads downwards upon their hands, imitating the motions of dancers with their feet.[l] A woman appeared, holding twelve brass hoops in her hand, with several little rings of the same metal

[b] Athen. ibid. Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 5. c. 30. t. i. p. 856.
[c] Schol. Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 45. [d] Athen. ibid. p. 133.
[e] Diod. Laërt. lib. 1. § 104. Casaub. in Theophr. c. 4. p. 39.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 658. Athen. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 129.
[g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1212. Schol. ejusd. in Pac. v. 299. [h] Athen. lib. 9. c. 18. p. 409. [i] Casaub. in Athen. lib. 1. c. 15; lib. 4. c. 1. [k] Xen. in Conv. p. 893. [l] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 129.

strung in their circumference, and while she danced, successively threw into the air and catched the twelve hoops.[m] Another rushed into the midst of several naked swords.[n] These tricks, some of which interested without pleasing me, were almost all performed to the sound of the flute. To succeed in them, it is necessary to unite a graceful neatness to precision of motion.

[m] Xen. in Conviv. p. 876. Caylus, Recueil d'Antiq. t. i. p. 202. [n] Xen. ibid. Athen. lib. 4. p. 129. Paciaud. de Athlet. Κυβιστ. 5. p. 18.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the Education of the Athenians.

The inhabitants of Mytilene having brought under subjection some of their allies who had revolted from them, forbade them to give the least instruction to their children.[a] They were sensible that no more effectual method could be devised to retain them in servitude, than to keep them in ignorance.

The object of education is to give to the body the strength designed by nature, and to the mind every perfection of which it is capable.[b] Education among the Athenians commences at the birth of the child, and does not end till his twentieth year. This period, so far from being longer than is necessary to form citizens, is found insufficient, from the negligence of parents, who abandon the hopes of the state, and of their families, at first to slaves, and afterwards to the care of mercenary preceptors.

Legislators could only express their opinions on this subject by general laws;[c] philosophers, enlarging the field of their inquiries, have extended their views even to the care requisite during the state of childhood, and to the assiduities, too frequently prejudicial,

[a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 7. c. 15. [b] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 788. [c] Id. ibid.

of those who surround infants. In treating of this essential object, I shall show the connexion which certain practices have with religion or government; and place by the side of the errors usually committed, the advice of persons of understanding and reflection.

Epicharis, the wife of Apollodorus, at whose house I resided, was on the point of lying in. During the first forty days of her pregnancy she was not suffered to go out of her house.[d] She was repeatedly reminded, that as the constitution of her child might be greatly influenced by her conduct and state of health,[e] it was her duty to make use of wholesome nourishment, and to preserve her strength by gentle exercise.[f]

Among many of those nations whom the Greeks style barbarians, the natal day of an infant is a day of mourning for the family.[g] Assembling around it, they compassionate the child who has had the misfortune to receive the fatal present of existence. These lamentations are but too conformable to the maxims of the Grecian sages. When we reflect, say they, on the destiny that awaits man on earth, we ought to bedew his cradle with our tears.[h]

Yet at the birth of the son of Apollodorus I beheld joy and tenderness sparkle in the eyes of the

[d] Censor. de Die Nat. c. 11. [e] Hippocr. de Nat. Puer. § 22. t. i. p. 149. [f] Plut. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 789. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 16. tom. ii. p. 447. [g] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 4. Strab. lib. 11. p. 519. Anthol. p. 16. [h] Euripid. Fragm. Cresph. 476. Axioch. ap. Plat. lib. 3. p. 368. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 48. t. ii. p. 273.

relations; I saw a crown of olive, the symbol of that agriculture for which man was designed, suspended over the door of the house. Had it been a girl, a woollen fillet, instead of the olive crown, would have betokened the species of labour in which women should employ themselves.[j] This custom, which recals the memory of ancient manners, proclaims to the republic that she has acquired a citizen. Formerly it was emblematic of the paternal and maternal duties.

The father has the right of pronouncing on the life or death of his children. On their birth they are laid at his feet, and if he takes them in his arms they are saved. When he is not wealthy enough to bring them up, or when he despairs of being able to correct certain defects in their conformation, he turns aside his eyes, and they are instantly carried away to be exposed, or put to death.[k] The laws prohibit this barbarity at Thebes,[l] but authorise or tolerate it throughout almost all the rest of Greece. Some philosophers approve of it;[m] whilst others, contradicted indeed by more rigid moralists,[n] add, that a mother who is already surrounded by a too numerous family, has a right to destroy the child she carries in her womb.

Whence is it that enlightened and humane nations thus violate the dictates of nature? It is because the number of their citizens being limited by the very constitution, they are not anxious to augment their

[j] Hesych. in Στεφαν. Ephipp. ap. Athen. lib. 9. p. 370. [k] Terent. in Heautontim. act. 4. scen. 1. [l] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 7. [m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460. [n] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 16. t. ii. p. 477. Phoc. Poem. Admon. v. 172.

population; and every citizen being with them a soldier, the country gives itself no concern about the fate of a man who would never render it any service, and to whom its assistance would be often necessary.

The child was washed with warm water, conformably to the advice of Hippocrates.[o] The people who are called barbarians would have plunged it into cold water,[p] which would have contributed to strengthen it. It was then laid in one of those wicker baskets used to separate the grain from the chaff,[q] a ceremony deemed the presage of great future opulence, or of a numerous posterity.

Formerly the most distinguished rank did not exempt a mother from suckling her infant. This important duty is now confided to a female slave;[r] but to correct in some measure the meanness of her birth, she is admitted into the family; and nurses in general become the friends and confidants of the girls they have brought up.[s]

As the Lacedæmonian nurses are highly celebrated in Greece,[t] Apollodorus had sent for one, and committed his son to her care. On receiving him she would by no means swaddle him,[u] or con-

[o] Hippocr. de Salubr. Diæt. § 9. t. i. p. 630. [p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 447. [q] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 46. Schol. ibid. Etym. Magn. in Δεῖκνον. [r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 790. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 8. c. 9. t. ii. p. 108. [s] Eurip. in Hippol. Terent. in Heauton. Adelph. &c. [t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.. [u] Id. ibid.

fine his limbs by the machines made use of in certain countries,[x] and which too often serve only to thwart and obstruct nature.

To accustom him early to bear the cold, she covered him only with a few thin garments,—a practice recommended by the philosophers,[y] and which we find in use among the Celts, another of those nations styled barbarians by the Greeks.

The fifth day was set apart for purifying the infant: a woman took him in her arms, and, followed by the whole family, ran with him several times round a fire burning on the altar.[z]

Many children dying of convulsions soon after their birth, the parents wait for the seventh, and sometimes the tenth day, before they name them.[a] Apollodorus having assembled his own and his wife's relations and their friends,[b] said in their presence that he gave his child the name of his father Lysis; for it is the custom of the eldest son of a family to be named after his grandfather.[c] This ceremony was accompanied by a sacrifice and an entertainment; and a few days after followed by another still more sacred, —that of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. The Athenians, persuaded that initiation is pro-

[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 447. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 116. Harpocr. et Hesych. in Αμφιδρ. Meurs. de Puerp. c. 6. [a] Euripid. in Elect. v. 1126. Aristoph. in Av. v. 494 et 923. Schol. ibid. Demosth. adv. Bœöt. p. 1004. Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 7. c. 12. t. i. p. 896. Harpocr. in Εβδομ. [b] Suid. in Δεκατ. [c] Isæus, de Hæredit. Pyrrh. p. 41. Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 205. Demosth. in Bœöt. p. 1005.

ductive of great advantages after death, are anxious to perform this ceremony on their children.[d]

On the fortieth day Epicharis quitted her bed.[e] This day was a festival in the house of Apollodorus; and the parents, after receiving new tokens of affection from their friends, redoubled their attention to the education of their son. Their first object was to give him a robust constitution, and to select from the practices generally in use such as were most conformable to the views of nature and the improved knowledge of philosophy. Deidamia, for so the nurse or governess was named, listened to their advice, and suggested what she herself had learned from experience.

So rapid is the vegetation of the human body in the first five years of infancy, that, according to some naturalists, it does not double its height in the twenty succeeding years.[f] It then requires plentiful nourishment and much exercise. Nature agitates the infant with a secret restlessness, and nurses are often obliged to take him in their arms, and gently lull his brain by pleasing and melodious songs. It should seem as if long habit had led them to consider music and dancing as the primary elements of our education:[g] these promote digestion, procure calm sleep, and dissipate those sudden terrors which external objects are apt to produce on the yet feeble organs

[d] Terent. in Phorm. act. i. scen. i. v. 15. Apollod. ap. Donat. ibid. Turneb. adv. lib. 3. c. 6. Note of Madame Dacier on the 2d scene of the 4th act of the Plutus of Aristophanes. [e] Censor. de Die Natal. c. 11. [f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 718. [g] Id. ibid. p. 790.

As soon as the child was able to stand, Deidamia accustomed him to walk, being herself always ready to assist him.[h] I afterwards saw her put little playthings into his hands, which by their noise might amuse him, or divert his attention;[i] a circumstance I should pass unnoticed, were not the most commodious of these toys the invention of the celebrated philosopher Archytas,[k] who wrote on the nature of the universe, and at the same time employed his attention on the education of children.

More important care soon occupied the attention of Deidamia, and particular views led her to deviate from the practices most generally in use. She accustomed her pupil to eat indiscriminately of all sorts of food that were offered to him.[l] Never was violence employed to stop his tears: but it was only in compliance with the examples of certain philosophers[m] that she considered them as a sort of useful exercise for children; it appeared to her preferable to prevent them when their cause could be discovered, and to suffer them to flow when that could not be ascertained: he therefore ceased to shed any as soon as he was able by his gestures to explain his wants.

She was particularly attentive to the first impressions he should receive,—impressions sometimes so powerful and durable as to leave traces on the character for the remainder of life; and, in fact, it is

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 789. [i] Etymn. Magn. et Suid. in Πλαταγ. Anthol. 1. 6. c. 23. p. 440. [k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 6. t. ii. p. 456. [l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 448.

scarcely possible but that a mind which in its infancy is continually agitated by idle terrors, should become more and more susceptible of that timidity in which it has been regularly initiated.[n] Deidamia carefully withheld from her pupil all objects that might increase his fears, instead of multiplying them by menaces and blows.

I one day saw her much offended at a mother who had told her son that the pimples on his face were a punishment for his falsehoods;[o] and in consequence of my observing that the Scythians handled their weapons with equal address with the right and left hand, I soon after saw her pupil make use of both his hands indiscriminately.[p]

He was healthy and robust, and was not treated either with that excessive indulgence which renders children difficult to please, hasty, impatient of the slightest contradiction, and insupportable to others; nor with that extreme severity that makes them timid, servile, and insupportable to themselves.[q] His tastes were contradicted, without reminding him of his dependence; and his faults were punished, without adding insult to correction.[r] Apollodorus laid the most particular injunction on his son not to frequent the society of the servants, who were strictly prohibited from tainting him with the least tincture of vice, either by their words or their example.[s]

[n] Plut. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 791. [o] Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 23. Schol. ibid. [p] Plut. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 794. [q] Id. ibid. 791. [r] Id. ibid. p. 793. [s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 448.

It is the advice of wise men not to impose on children for the first five years any labour that requires application ;[t] their sports alone should animate and interest them. This period allotted for the growth and strengthening of the body, Apollodorus prolonged in favour of his son ; nor did he place him under the care of a conductor or pedagogue before the end of his sixth year.[u] This tutor was a confidential slave,[x] employed to accompany him every where, and especially to the masters who were to instil into him the first elements of the sciences.

Before he intrusted the child to his care, he was desirous of securing to the tutor the privileges of a citizen. I have already said that the Athenians are divided into ten tribes ;* each tribe is subdivided into three confraternities, or curiæ ; and each curia into thirty classes.[y] The members of the same curia are deemed brethren ; inasmuch as their festivals, temples, and sacrifices, are in common. An Athenian must be enrolled in one of the curiæ, either immediately on his birth, or at three or four years old, but rarely after the seventh year.[z] This ceremony is solemnly performed at the festival Apaturia, which is celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, and lasts three days.

The first day is distinguished only by entertain-

[t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 448. [u] Plut. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 794. [x] Id. in Lys. t. ii. p. 208. * See Chap. XIV. Vol. II. of this work. [y] Hesych. Etymol. Magn. Harpocr. et Suid. in Γεννῆτ. Poll. lib. 3. § 52. [z] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 146, &c.

ments, at which relations are assembled together under the same roof, and the members of a curia in the same place.[a]

The second is consecrated to religious ceremonies. The magistrates offer up public sacrifices; and many Athenians, richly dressed, and carrying burning firebrands in their hands, run hastily round the altar, sing hymns in honour of Vulcan, and celebrate the god who introduced the use of fire among mortals.[b]

On the third day children are admitted to the rank of citizens. Several of both sexes were to be presented.[c] I followed Apollodorus into a small temple which belonged to his curia,[d] where we found the chiefs of the curia, and of the particular class of which he was a member, assembled with several of his relations. He presented his son to them, with a sheep for sacrifice: this they proceeded to weigh, and I heard some of the by-standers cry out, laughing, Less! less! meaning that it was not of the weight prescribed by law.[e] This is a pleasantry seldom omitted on these occasions. Whilst the flame was consuming part of the victim,[f] Apollodorus advanced, and holding his son by the hand, took the gods to witness that this child was the offspring of himself, and of an Athenian wife, in lawful wedlock.[g] The votes were now collected, and the infant immediately enrolled under the name of Lysis, son of

[a] Meurs. Græc. Feriat. in Apatur. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 107. [d] Id. ibid. 3. [e] Harpocr. in Μειον. Suid. in Μειαγ. [f] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1029. [g] Isæus, de Hæred. Apoll. p. 65. Id. de Hæred. Cyron. p. 70.

Apollodorus, in the archives of the curia, called the Public Register.[h]

This act, by which a child is entered in a certain tribe, curia, and class of that curia, is the only one that ascertains the legitimacy of his birth, and establishes his right to the inheritance of his parents.[i] When the members of the curia refuse to incorporate him in their body, they are liable to be prosecuted by the father.[k]

Education, to be conformable to the genius of a government, should impress on the hearts of the young citizens uniformity of sentiments and principles: accordingly the ancient legislators had subjected the youth to one common institution.[l] At present they are in general brought up in their own families, which directly clashes with the democratic spirit. In private education, a child, meanly abandoned to the flattery of his relations and their slaves, considers himself as distinct from the multitude, because he is separated from them. In public education, the emulation is more general; all conditions are brought upon a level, or, if I may so speak, are in contact with each other: there the youthful citizen is every day and every instant taught that merit and talents alone can confer any real superiority.

This question is more easy of solution than a multitude of others which employ the fruitless discussions of philosophers. It is often asked whether more at-

[h] Harpocr. in Κοῖν. γραμμ.
[i] Demosth. in Bœöt. p. 1005.
[k] Id. adv. Neær. p. 870.
[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 1. t. ii. p. 449.

tention should be bestowed on the cultivation of the mind than the formation of the heart; whether infants should be confined to lessons of virtue, exclusively of those which have relation to the wants and comforts of society; and how far they should be instructed in the arts and sciences?[m]

Far from engaging in such disputes, Apollodorus determined not to deviate from the system of education established by the ancient legislators, the wisdom of which attracts a great number of students from the neighbouring countries, as well as from the remotest nations.[n] But he reserved to himself the power of correcting its abuses. He sent his son every day to the schools, which the law orders to be opened at sun-rising, and shut at sun-set.[o] His conductor took him there in the morning, and returned for him in the evening.[p]

Among the preceptors intrusted with the care of the Athenian youth, it is not uncommon to meet with men of distinguished merit. Such, formerly, was Damon, who gave lessons of music to Socrates,[q] and of politics to Pericles.[r] Such, in my time, was Philotimus, who had frequented the school of Plato, and to an acquaintance with the arts added a well-grounded knowledge of true philosophy. Apollodorus, who had a great affection for him, had prevailed on him to assist in the pains he bestowed on the education of his son.

[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 450. [n] Æschin. Epist. 12. p. 214. [o] Id. in Tim. p. 261. [p] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 223. [q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 400. [r] Id. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 18. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 154.

a close attendant on the gymnasium of the Lycæum. Children begin their bodily exercises very early,[p] sometimes even at seven years old,[q] and continue them till the age of twenty. They are first habituated to bear cold and heat, and all the inclemencies of the seasons;[r] and afterwards accustomed to throw balls of different sizes, returning them to each other. This and other games of the same nature are but preludes to those laborious exercises which are to succeed in proportion as their strength increases. They run on a deep sand; hurl javelins; and leap over ditches or barriers, holding in their hands great leaden weights, and throwing into the air or before them quoits of stone or brass.[s] They run once, or oftener, the whole length of the stadium, and frequently in heavy armour. But their chief exercises consist in wrestling, pugilistic encounters, and the various combats which I shall describe when I come to speak of the Olympic games. Lysis, who was passionately fond of these amusements, was obliged to use them with moderation, and correct their defects by mental exercises, to which his father incessantly recalled his attention.

On his return home in the evening, he either sang to the lyre,[t] or amused himself with drawing, a study which has been almost generally introduced, of late years, among children of free condition.[u] He often read instructive and entertaining books, in presence

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402. Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 898. [q] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. [r] Lucian. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 909. [t] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 209. [u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3. t. ii. p. 450. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 694.

evening he gave to his parents an account of the progress he had made. I saw him with a stylus, or bodkin, in his hand, repeatedly following the windings of the letters which his master had traced on the tablets.[a] He was enjoined to pay the most scrupulous attention to punctuation, until it was time to instruct him in the rules.[a]

He often read the fables of Æsop,[b] and frequently repeated verses he knew by heart. To exercise the memory of their pupils, the professors of grammar teach them passages of Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets.[c] But, say the philosophers, nothing is so contrary to the most important object of education. As the poets attribute passions to the gods, and justify those of men, children become familiar with vice before they know its pernicious nature. For this reason, collections of select pieces of a pure morality have been formed for their use,[d] and it was one of those collections that the master of Lysis had put into his hands. To this he afterwards added the enumeration of the troops who went to the siege of Troy, as we find it in the Iliad.[e] Some legislators have directed that children should be accustomed to repeat it in the schools, as it contains the names of the most ancient cities and families of Greece.[f]

[a] Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 159. Quintil. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 13. [a] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 5. t. ii. p. 589. [b] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 128. Id. in Av. v. 471. Aristot. ap. Schol. Aristoph. ibid. [c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 325. Id. Rep. lib. 2. p. 377. Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 902. [d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 811. [e] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. [f] Eustath. in Iliad. 2. t. i. p. 263.

In the earlier part of his education, when Lysis spoke, or read, or was declaiming from any author, I was astonished at the degree of importance his teachers annexed to his pronunciation, by making him sometimes rest upon one syllable, and hurrying him on another. Philotimus, to whom I expressed my surprise, removed it by the following observations.

Our first legislators easily conceived that the Greeks must be addressed through the imagination, and that virtue was infinitely more persuasive when conveyed by sentiment than in precepts. They presented us with truths decorated with all the charms of poetry and music. We were taught our duties in the amusements of our childhood; we sang the bounty of the gods, and the virtues of our heroes. Our manners became milder by the pleasing illusion, and we may at this day truly boast, that the graces themselves have laboured to make us what we are.

The language we speak seems to be their invention. What sweetness! what richness! what harmony! How faithfully does it interpret the mind and heart! Whilst by the copiousness and boldness of its expressions it is adequate to represent all our ideas, and clothes them when necessary in brilliant colours, its melody instils persuasion into our souls. It is not so much my intention to explain, as to give you a faint idea of this effect.

We remark in this language three essential properties:—sound, accent, and quantity.[c]

[c] Aristot. Poet. c. 20. t. ii. p. 667.

Each letter, either separately or conjointly with another, conveys a sound; and these sounds differ in softness or harshness, strength or feebleness, clearness or obscurity. I point out to Lysis those which delight the ear, and those which offend it:[h] I make him remark that an open, clear, and full sound produces more effect than a sound that dies away on the lips, or is broken against the teeth; and that there is one letter which, when it frequently recurs, causes so disagreeable a hissing, that some authors have rigorously banished it from their works.[i]

You are astonished at that species of melody, which among us not only animates declamation, but even familiar conversation. You will find it among almost all the southern nations: their language, like ours, is guided by accents appropriated to each word, and which give inflexions to the voice that are more numerous in proportion as nations possess more sensibility, and stronger as they are less cultivated and enlightened. Nay, I am apt to think that the ancient Greeks not only used more aspirations, but were addicted to a still stronger accentuation than the moderns However that may be, with us the voice sometimes rises and sinks the difference of a fifth on two syllables, nay even on the same;[k] but more frequently the transition is by smaller intervals,[l] some distinctly marked,

[h] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 203. Id. in Cratyl. ibid. p. 224. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 12. t. v. p. 65. [i] Dionys. ibid. c. 14. p. 30. Athen. lib. 10. c. 21. p. 455. Eustath. in Iliad. 10. p. 313. [k] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 11. t. v. p. 58. [l] Sim. Bircov. Not. in Dionys. p. 3. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxxii. p. 439.

others scarcely perceptible to, or wholly undiscoverable by the ear. In writing, the accents being placed over the words,[m] Lysis easily distinguishes the syllables on which he must elevate or lower his voice; but as it is impossible by signs to determine the precise degrees of elevation and sinking, I accustom him to adopt the inflexions the most suited to the circumstances and the subject.[n] You must have perceived that his intonation daily acquires new beauties, as it becomes more just and varied.

The length of the syllables is measured by a certain interval of time. Some drag on with more or less slowness, others press forward with a greater or less degree of quickness.[o] Collect several short syllables, and you will be hurried away in despite of yourself by a rapidity of pronunciation; substitute long syllables for them, and you will be retarded by their weight; combine them together according to their relative length, you will perceive your style obedient to all the emotions of your mind, and exactly convey the impressions you wish to communicate. This it is which constitutes that rhythmus, that cadence,[p] which cannot be violated without offending the ear; and thus from the varieties which nature, the passions, and art, have given to the expressions of the voice, there results a combination of more or less agreeable, violent, or rapid sounds.

[m] Aristot. de Soph. Elench. t. 1. p. 284. [n] Id. de Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [o] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 15. t. v. p. 85. [p] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 424. Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 8. t. ii. p. 591.

When Lysis shall be more advanced, I will show him that the best method of assorting these sounds, is by contrasting them; for contrast, from whence arises equilibrium, is throughout all nature, and principally in the imitative arts, the source of order and of beauty. I will show him by what a happy equipoise they may be strengthened and enfeebled. These rules shall be supported by examples. In the works of Thucydides he will distinguish a severe, commanding melody, full of grandeur, but generally destitute of amenity; in the writings of Xenophon, a series of harmonious sounds, which, by their elegance and softness, characterise the graces by which he was inspired;[q] and in the poems of Homer, a skilful and continually varied arrangement.[r] Observe, when speaking of Penelope, in what a manner that poet combines the sweetest and most melodious sounds to display the harmony and splendour of beauty.[s] Would he represent the noise of the waves breaking on the shore, his language lengthens, and imitates the roaring of the sea. Does he wish to paint the torments of Sisyphus eternally labouring to roll a rock up to the top of a mountain, whence it incessantly recoils upon him, his verses, after a slow, heavy, and fatiguing progress, roll and precipitate themselves like a torrent.[t] Thus are sounds converted into colours, and images become realities, under the pen of the most harmonious of poets.

[q] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 10. t. v. p. 52. [r] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 90. [s] Id. ibid. c. 16. t. v. p. 197. [t] Id. ibid. c. 20. t. v. p. 139, &c.

We do not teach foreign languages to our pupils; whether it be from contempt of other nations, or because they have not more time than is requisite to learn our own. With the properties of the component elements of the latter Lysis is well acquainted. His flexible organs perceive and express with facility those minute differences which a practised ear remarks in the nature of sounds, in their duration, and in the different degrees of their elevation or depression.[w]

These ideas, which have never yet been collected in any work, will, perhaps, appear to you frivolous; and so they would be if, compelled as we are to please in order to persuade, it were not often necessary to prefer style to thought, and harmony to expression.[x] But they are essential in a government where the value of eloquence is infinitely enhanced by the accessory qualities that attend it; and more especially among a people whose mind is levity itself, and whose senses are of the utmost delicacy; who will sometimes pardon an orator for opposing their inclinations, but never for offending their ear.[y] Hence the incredible exertions of certain orators to rectify their organs of speech; hence their efforts to give that melody and cadence to their harangues which may best effect persuasion; hence, in fine, those expressible charms, that ravishing sweetness, which distinguish

[w] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [x] Id. ibid. p. 584. Dionys. Halic. ibid. [y] Demosth. de Coron. p. 481. Ulpian. ibid. p. 529. Cicer. Orat. c. 8. et 9. t. i. p. 425. Suid. id. Θερίω.

the Grecian tongue in the mouth of the Athenians.[z] Considered in this point of view, grammar is so intimately connected with music, that the care of teaching both is generally intrusted to the same preceptor.[a]

I shall relate on another occasion the conversations I had with Philotimus on the subject of music. I sometimes was present at the musical lessons he gave his pupil. Lysis learnt to sing with taste, accompanying his voice on the lyre. He was suffered to make use of no instruments that violently agitate the mind, or which serve only to enervate it.[b] He was forbidden the flute, which alternately excites and lulls to sleep the passions. Not long ago this instrument constituted the chief entertainment of the most distinguished Athenians. Alcibiades, when a boy, began to learn to play on it; but finding that his exertions to produce the sounds disfigured his features, he broke his flute into a thousand pieces.[c] From that moment the Athenian youth considered playing on this instrument as an ignoble exercise, and abandoned it to professional musicians.

It was about this time that I set out for Egypt. Before my departure I requested Philotimus to commit to writing the remainder of this plan of education, and I shall now continue the narrative from his journal.

Lysis passed successively under the care of different

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642. Cicer. de Orator. lib. 3. c. 11. t. i. p. 290. [a] Quintil. Instit. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 69. [b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 6. t. ii. p. 457. [c] Plut. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 106. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. c. 17.

masters. He learnt arithmetic by principle, and in his sports; for in order to assist children in the study of this science, they are accustomed sometimes to share amongst them, according to their number, a certain quantity of apples or chaplets; sometimes they change places with each other in their exercises, according to certain given combinations, so that the same boy shall occupy each place in his turn.*[d] Apollodorus would not allow his son to learn either the pretended powers attributed to numbers by the Pythagoreans, nor the application which a spirit of sordid interest may make of calculation to commercial transactions.[e] He nevertheless had a great esteem for arithmetic, because, among other advantages, it increases the sagacity of the mind, and prepares it for the reception of geometry and astronomy.[f]

Lysis acquired a tincture of both these sciences. With the assistance of the former, should he one day be placed at the head of armies, he will be better enabled to mark out a camp, conduct a siege, arrange troops in order of battle, and direct their motions with more facility on a march, or in an action.[g] The latter will guard him against the panic terror with which but lately the soldiers were used to be seized at the sight of eclipses and the extraordinary phenomena of nature.[h]

* See note XXII. at the end of the volume. [d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 819. [e] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 525. [f] Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 145. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526. Id. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. [g] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526. [h] Thucyd. lib. 7. c. 50.

Apollodorus happening one day to call at the house of one of his son's preceptors, found there mathematical instruments, spheres, globes, and tables, on which were delineated the boundaries of different empires, and the position of the most celebrated cities.[k] As he had been told that his son often talked to his friends of an estate belonging to the family in the district of Cephissia, he embraced this opportunity to give him the same lesson that Alcibiades received from Socrates.[l] Show me, said he to him, on this map of the world, where Europe, Greece, and Attica, are situate. Lysis answered these questions satisfactorily; but Apollodorus next inquiring of him, where the district of Cephissia lay, his son answered with blushes, that he was not able to find it. His friends smiled, and he never more spoke of the possessions of his father.

Lysis was inflamed with an ardent desire to acquire knowledge: but his father never lost sight of this maxim of a king of Lacedæmon; that nothing should be taught children but what may be eventually useful:[m] nor of this other; that ignorance is preferable to a multiplicity of knowledge confusedly jumbled together in the mind.[n]

Lysis learnt at the same time to swim, and to manage a horse.[o] Dancing regulated his steps, and bestowed a gracefulness on all his motions. He was

[l] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 201, &c. [k] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 49. Diog. Laërt. in Theoph. lib. 5. § 31. [l] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 28. [m] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 224. [n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 819. [o] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 162.

a close attendant on the gymnasium of the Lycæum. Children begin their bodily exercises very early,[p] sometimes even at seven years old,[q] and continue them till the age of twenty. They are first habituated to bear cold and heat, and all the inclemencies of the seasons;[r] and afterwards accustomed to throw balls of different sizes, returning them to each other. This and other games of the same nature are but preludes to those laborious exercises which are to succeed in proportion as their strength increases. They run on a deep sand; hurl javelins; and leap over ditches or barriers, holding in their hands great leaden weights, and throwing into the air or before them quoits of stone or brass.[s] They run once, or oftener, the whole length of the stadium, and frequently in heavy armour. But their chief exercises consist in wrestling, pugilistic encounters, and the various combats which I shall describe when I come to speak of the Olympic games. Lysis, who was passionately fond of these amusements, was obliged to use them with moderation, and correct their defects by mental exercises, to which his father incessantly recalled his attention.

On his return home in the evening, he either sang to the lyre,[t] or amused himself with drawing, a study which has been almost generally introduced, of late years, among children of free condition.[u] He often read instructive and entertaining books, in presence

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402. Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 898. [q] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. [r] Lucian. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 909. [t] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 209. [u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3. t. ii. p. 450. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 694.

of his father and mother. On these occasions Apollodorus performed the office of those grammarians who, under the name of critics,[x] teach us to solve the difficulties that occur in the text of authors; and Epicharis, that of a woman of taste, who is able to relish and point out their beauties. Lysis one day asking by what criterion we should judge of the merit of a book; Aristotle, who was present, replied: "When the author has said every thing that he ought, only what he ought, and this in the manner he ought."[y]

His parents formed him to that dignified politeness of which they were themselves the models. The desire of pleasing, facility in the intercourse of life, equality of character, attention to yield precedence to the aged,[z] decency of deportment, of appearance, manners, and expressions,[a] all were prescribed him without constraint, and all acquired and observed without an effort.

His father often took him to hunt different kinds of quadrupeds, because the chase is the image of war;[b] sometimes to kill or catch birds; but always on uncultivated grounds, that he might not destroy the hopes of the husbandman.[c]

He was taken early to the theatre;[d] and afterwards more than once distinguished himself in the

[x] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. Strab. ap. Eustath. t. i. p. 285. [y] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 22. Id. de Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [z] Id. de Mor. lib. 9. c. 2. t. ii. p. 118. [a] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 24, 27, &c. Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. lib. 7. c. 17. p. 448. [b] Xen. de Venat. p. 974 et 995. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 824. [d] Theophr. Charact. c. 9.

musical and dancing choruses at the solemn festivals. He was eminent likewise at those public games in which horse-races are introduced, and frequently carried off the palm; but he was never seen, like some young men, standing upright on horseback, throwing arrows, and making a show of himself by tricks of dexterity.[e]

He took some lessons of a fencing-master,[f] and made himself acquainted with tactics;[g] but he never frequented those ignorant professors, to whose lectures youth repair to learn to command armies.[h]

These different exercises were principally connected with the military art. But if it was his duty to defend his country, it was thought no less incumbent on him to contribute to its information and improvement. Logic, rhetoric, ethics, history, the laws, and politics, successively engaged his attention.

Mercenary masters take upon them to teach these various branches of science, and require a high premium for their lessons. The following anecdote is told of Aristippus. An Athenian requesting him to complete the education of his son, Aristippus demanded a thousand drachmas. "But," replied the father, "I could have a slave for that sum." "You will have two," said the philosopher; "your son, and the slave whom you had placed about his person."[i]

Formerly this city was greatly frequented by the sophists, who taught the Athenian youth to declaim

[e] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 93.
[f] Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 182.
[g] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 365.
[h] Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 307.
[i] Plat. de lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 4.

superficially on every subject. Though their number be now greatly diminished, some of them are still to be seen, who, surrounded by their disciples, make the halls of the gymnasium re-echo with their clamours and disputations. Lysis seldom attended at these contentions. Lessons were given him by teachers of much greater abilities; and he had the advantage of receiving the instruction of men of the first order for genius and learning. Such were Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, who were all three the friends of Apollodorus.

Logic added new powers, and rhetoric new charms, to his reason. But care was taken to warn him that both these sciences, though intended to render truth triumphant, were but too frequently employed to give the victory to falsehood. As an orator should not be too negligent of external acquirements, he was placed for some time under the eye of an able actor, who gave him proper instructions with respect to the management of his voice and gestures.[k]

The history of Greece taught him the claims and errors of the different states which inhabit it. He attended the bar until the time should come when, after the example of Themistocles and other great men, he might have the opportunity of personally defending the cause of innocence.[l]

One of the principal objects of education is to form the infant heart. In the course of it,[m] the parents, tutor, servants, and masters, weary the child

[k] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 839. [l] Nep. in Them. c. 1.
[m] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 325.

with trite maxims, the impression of which they weaken by their examples. Menaces and blows, too, injudiciously employed, often give him a distaste for truths which he should have been induced to love.

The study of morality never cost Lysis a tear. His father had placed about him persons who improved him by their conduct, and not by importunate remonstrances. When a child, he pointed out his faults to him with mildness: when his reason was more completely formed, he let him see that they were contrary to his interest.

He was very careful in his choice of books on the subject of morality; their authors in general either wavering in their principles, or having only false ideas of the duties of mankind. Isocrates one day read to us a letter which he had formerly addressed to Demonicus,* a young man who resided at the court of Cyprus.[n] This letter, which was fraught with sense, but loaded with antitheses, contained rules for manners and conduct, arranged in the form of maxims relative to the various circumstances of life. The following may serve as a specimen:

"Act towards your parents as you would that your children should one day act towards you.[o] In your most secret actions suppose that you have all the world for witnesses. Do not flatter yourself that reprehensible actions can remain in oblivion; you may perhaps conceal them from others, but never from yourself.[p] Employ your leisure hours in lis-

* See note XXIII. at the end of the volume. [n] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 15. [o] Ibid. p. 23. [p] Ibid. p. 25.

tening to the conversation of the wise.[q] Deliberate slowly, execute promptly.[r] Comfort distressed virtue; liberality well applied constitutes the treasure of the worthy man.[s] When you shall be invested with some important office, never employ bad men; when you quit it, let it be with glory rather than with wealth."[t]

This work was written with that profusion of ornament and elegance which we discover in all the productions of Isocrates. Compliments were bestowed upon the author; and when he was gone, Apollodorus thus addressed his son: The pleasure you received on hearing this letter read did not escape me, nor am I surprised at it: it has awakened sentiments which are dear to your heart, and we are always happy to meet our friends. But did you attend to the passage I desired him to repeat, and which points out to Demonicus the conduct he should observe at the court of Cyprus? I know it by heart, answered Lysis. "Conform to the inclinations of the prince. By appearing to approve them, you will acquire additional influence with him, and more respect from the people. Obey his laws, and consider his example as the first."[u] What a strange lesson in the mouth of a republican! resumed Apollodorus; and how is it possible to reconcile it with the advice which the author gives Demonicus to detest flatterers?[x] The fact is, that Isocrates has but borrowed a doctrine on morality,

[q] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 26. [r] Ibid. p. 39. [s] Ibid. p. 33.
[t] Ibid. p. 37. [u] Ibid. p. 39. [x] Ibid. p. 34.

and speaks rather as a rhetorician than as a philosopher. Besides, is it by such vague precepts that we are to enlighten the mind? Do you imagine that Demonicus was in a situation to understand the words, wisdom, justice, temperance, honesty, and a variety of others which have so often met your ear in this production; those words which so many men content themselves with retaining and distributing as it may serve their purpose?[y] Have you yourself an accurate idea of their true signification? Are you aware that our greatest danger from prejudices and vices is when they assume the disguise of truths and virtues; and that nothing is more difficult than to obey the voice even of a faithful guide, when overpowered by that of a multitude of impostors who walk by his side and imitate his language?

Hitherto I have made no attempt to fortify you in virtue systematically. I have contented myself with making you practise it. It was proper to dispose your mind for the reception of these lessons, as we prepare the earth before we scatter the seed by which it is to be enriched.[z] You have now a right to require from me an account of my motives for the sacrifices I have sometimes exacted from you, that you may enable yourself to justify those you will one day be obliged to make.

A few days after, Aristotle was so obliging as to bring with him several works which he had sketched

[y] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 263. [z] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 10. t. ii. p. 141.

out or finished, mostly on the science of morals,[a] commenting on them as he read. I shall endeavour to explain his principles.

All modes of life, all our actions, have a particular end in view; and all those ends tend to one general object, which is happiness.[b] It is not in the end we propose, but in the choice of means, that we deceive ourselves.[c] How often do honours, riches, power, and beauty, prove more fatal than useful to us![d] How often has experience taught us that disease and poverty are not in themselves injurious![e] Thus, from the erroneous idea we form of good and evil, as much as from the inconstancy of our will,[f] we almost always act without precisely knowing what it is we ought to desire, or what we ought to fear.[g]

To distinguish real from apparent good[h] is the object of morality, which unfortunately does not proceed like the sciences limited to theory. In the latter, the mind without difficulty perceives consequences resulting from principles.[i] But when called upon to act, it ought to hesitate, to deliberate, to choose, and, above all, to guard itself against illusions arising from external considerations, and against those which originate in our hearts. If we wish our decisions to be wise and just, let us consult our own feelings, and acquire a just idea of our passions, virtues, and vices.

[a] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 10. t. ii. p. 3. Id. Magn. Mor. p. 145. Id. Eudem. p. 195. [b] Id. de Mor. lib. 1. c. 1 et 2. [c] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 19. t. ii. p. 158. [d] Id. Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 290. [e] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 9. p. 36. [f] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 155. [g] Id. Eudem. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 197, &c. [h] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 33. [i] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 158.

masters. He learnt arithmetic by principle, and in his sports; for in order to assist children in the study of this science, they are accustomed sometimes to share amongst them, according to their number, a certain quantity of apples or chaplets; sometimes they change places with each other in their exercises, according to certain given combinations, so that the same boy shall occupy each place in his turn.*[d] Apollodorus would not allow his son to learn either the pretended powers attributed to numbers by the Pythagoreans, nor the application which a spirit of sordid interest may make of calculation to commercial transactions.[e] He nevertheless had a great esteem for arithmetic, because, among other advantages, it increases the sagacity of the mind, and prepares it for the reception of geometry and astronomy.[f]

Lysis acquired a tincture of both these sciences. With the assistance of the former, should he one day be placed at the head of armies, he will be better enabled to mark out a camp, conduct a siege, arrange troops in order of battle, and direct their motions with more facility on a march, or in an action.[g] The latter will guard him against the panic terror with which but lately the soldiers were used to be seized at the sight of eclipses and the extraordinary phenomena of nature.[h]

* See note XXII. at the end of the volume. [d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 819. [e] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 525. [f] Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 145. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526. Id. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. [g] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526. [h] Thucyd. lib. 7. c. 50.

us act, it is no more than a sound judgment.[p] Lastly, opinion envelops itself in doubts,[q] and often leads us into error.

Of all the qualities of the mind, wisdom is the most eminent, and prudence the most useful. As there is nothing so great in the universe as the universe itself, the sages, who ascend to its origin, and study the incorruptible essence of all beings, are entitled to the first rank in our esteem. Such were Anaxagoras and Thales. They have transmitted to us admirable and sublime ideas, but which are of no importance to our happiness;[r] for wisdom has only an indirect influence on morals. That consists wholly in theory, prudence entirely in practice.* In a family we frequently see the master confide to a faithful steward the minute particulars of domestic government, that he may apply himself to more important affairs; thus wisdom absorbed in profound meditations, relies on prudence to regulate our propensities, and to govern that part of the soul in which, as I have said, the moral virtues reside.[s]

This part is every moment agitated by love, hatred, anger, desire, fear, envy, and a multitude of other passions, the seeds of which we bring with us into the world, and which are of themselves deserving neither of censure nor praise.[t] Their motions, which are

[p] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 81. [q] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 35. p. 170. [r] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 78; cap. 13. p. 82. * See note at the end of the volume. [s] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 35. p. 171 et 172. [t] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 21.

a close attendant on the gymnasium of the Lycæum. Children begin their bodily exercises very early,[p] sometimes even at seven years old,[q] and continue them till the age of twenty. They are first habituated to bear cold and heat, and all the inclemencies of the seasons;[r] and afterwards accustomed to throw balls of different sizes, returning them to each other. This and other games of the same nature are but preludes to those laborious exercises which are to succeed in proportion as their strength increases. They run on a deep sand; hurl javelins; and leap over ditches or barriers, holding in their hands great leaden weights, and throwing into the air or before them quoits of stone or brass.[s] They run once, or oftener, the whole length of the stadium, and frequently in heavy armour. But their chief exercises consist in wrestling, pugilistic encounters, and the various combats which I shall describe when I come to speak of the Olympic games. Lysis, who was passionately fond of these amusements, was obliged to use them with moderation, and correct their defects by mental exercises, to which his father incessantly recalled his attention.

On his return home in the evening, he either sang to the lyre,[t] or amused himself with drawing, a study which has been almost generally introduced, of late years, among children of free condition.[u] He often read instructive and entertaining books, in presence

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402. Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 898. [q] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. [r] Lucian. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 909. [t] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 209. [u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3. t. ii. p. 450. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 694.

of his father and mother. On these occasions Apollodorus performed the office of those grammarians who, under the name of critics,[x] teach us to solve the difficulties that occur in the text of authors; and Epicharis, that of a woman of taste, who is able to relish and point out their beauties. Lysis one day asking by what criterion we should judge of the merit of a book; Aristotle, who was present, replied: "When the author has said every thing that he ought, only what he ought, and this in the manner he ought."[y]

His parents formed him to that dignified politeness of which they were themselves the models. The desire of pleasing, facility in the intercourse of life, equality of character, attention to yield precedence to the aged,[z] decency of deportment, of appearance, manners, and expressions,[a] all were prescribed him without constraint, and all acquired and observed without an effort.

His father often took him to hunt different kinds of quadrupeds, because the chase is the image of war;[b] sometimes to kill or catch birds; but always on uncultivated grounds, that he might not destroy the hopes of the husbandman.[c]

He was taken early to the theatre;[d] and afterwards more than once distinguished himself in the

[x] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. Strab. ap. Eustath. t. i. p. 285. [y] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 22. Id. de Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [z] Id. de Mor. lib. 9. c. 2. t. ii. p. 118. [a] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 24, 27, &c. Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. lib. 7. c. 17. p. 448. [b] Xen. de Venat. p. 974 et 995. [c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 824. [d] Theophr. Charact. c. 9.

musical and dancing choruses at the solemn festivals. He was eminent likewise at those public games in which horse-races are introduced, and frequently carried off the palm; but he was never seen, like some young men, standing upright on horseback, throwing arrows, and making a show of himself by tricks of dexterity.[e]

He took some lessons of a fencing-master,[f] and made himself acquainted with tactics;[g] but he never frequented those ignorant professors, to whose lectures youth repair to learn to command armies.[h]

These different exercises were principally connected with the military art. But if it was his duty to defend his country, it was thought no less incumbent on him to contribute to its information and improvement Logic, rhetoric, ethics, history, the laws, and politics, successively engaged his attention.

Mercenary masters take upon them to teach these various branches of science, and require a high premium for their lessons. The following anecdote is told of Aristippus. An Athenian requesting him to complete the education of his son, Aristippus demanded a thousand drachmas. "But," replied the father, "I could have a slave for that sum." "You will have two," said the philosopher; "your son, and the slave whom you had placed about his person."[i]

Formerly this city was greatly frequented by the sophists, who taught the Athenian youth to declaim

[e] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 93.
[f] Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 182.
[g] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 365.
[h] Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 307.
[i] Plat. de lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 4.

superficially on every subject. Though their number be now greatly diminished, some of them are still to be seen, who, surrounded by their disciples, make the halls of the gymnasium re-echo with their clamours and disputations. Lysis seldom attended at these contentions. Lessons were given him by teachers of much greater abilities; and he had the advantage of receiving the instruction of men of the first order for genius and learning. Such were Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, who were all three the friends of Apollodorus.

Logic added new powers, and rhetoric new charms, to his reason. But care was taken to warn him that both these sciences, though intended to render truth triumphant, were but too frequently employed to give the victory to falsehood. As an orator should not be too negligent of external acquirements, he was placed for some time under the eye of an able actor, who gave him proper instructions with respect to the management of his voice and gestures.[k]

The history of Greece taught him the claims and errors of the different states which inhabit it. He attended the bar until the time should come when, after the example of Themistocles and other great men, he might have the opportunity of personally defending the cause of innocence.[l]

One of the principal objects of education is to form the infant heart. In the course of it,[m] the parents, tutor, servants, and masters, weary the child

[k] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 839. [l] Nep. in Them. c. 1.
[m] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 325.

by prudence; or, if you will, it is a natural impulse towards good actions, transformed by prudence into a habit.[o]

Several consequences arise naturally from these ideas. It is in our power to be virtuous, since we all possess the aptitude to become so;[p] but it does not depend on any of us to be the most virtuous of men, unless that individual has received from Nature the dispositions requisite to such a degree of perfection.[q]

Since prudence forms in us the habit of virtue, all the virtues become her work; whence it follows, that in a mind docile to her dictates, not a virtue but presents and places itself in its proper rank, and not one will be found in opposition to another.[r] In such a mind, too, we must discover a perfect harmony between reason and the passions, since the former commands, and the latter always obey.[s]

But how can we assure ourselves of this harmony, or flatter ourselves that we possess such virtue? First, by a secret sentiment,[t] and next by the pain or pleasure we experience. If this virtue be not yet matured, the sacrifices it requires will afflict us; if complete, those sacrifices will afford us the purest joy; for virtue has its voluptuousness.[u]

It is impossible for children to be virtuous; they

[o] Aristot. de Mor. c. 6. p. 23. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 35. p. 171. [p] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 33. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 153. [q] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 155. [r] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. c. 13. p. 84. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 174. [s] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 184. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 186. [u] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 19; lib. 10. c. 7. p. 137.

tening to the conversation of the wise.[q] Deliberate slowly, execute promptly.[r] Comfort distressed virtue; liberality well applied constitutes the treasure of the worthy man.[s] When you shall be invested with some important office, never employ bad men; when you quit it, let it be with glory rather than with wealth."[t]

This work was written with that profusion of ornament and elegance which we discover in all the productions of Isocrates. Compliments were bestowed upon the author; and when he was gone, Apollodorus thus addressed his son: The pleasure you received on hearing this letter read did not escape me, nor am I surprised at it: it has awakened sentiments which are dear to your heart, and we are always happy to meet our friends. But did you attend to the passage I desired him to repeat, and which points out to Demonicus the conduct he should observe at the court of Cyprus? I know it by heart, answered Lysis. "Conform to the inclinations of the prince. By appearing to approve them, you will acquire additional influence with him, and more respect from the people. Obey his laws, and consider his example as the first."[u] What a strange lesson in the mouth of a republican! resumed Apollodorus; and how is it possible to reconcile it with the advice which the author gives Demonicus to detest flatterers?[x] The fact is, that Isocrates has but borrowed a doctrine on morality,

[q] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 26. [r] Ibid. p. 39. [s] Ibid. p. 33.
[t] Ibid. p. 37. [u] Ibid. p. 39. [x] Ibid. p. 34.

and on what objects, it was the province of each of them to act, or to suspend their operations. As he proceeded, he gave us his opinion on a multitude of questions, concerning which philosophers are divided, respecting the nature of our duties. These particulars, which are often but hinted at in his works, and which I cannot here unfold, brought him back to the motives that should attach us inviolably to virtue.

Let us consider virtue, said he one day, in its relations to ourselves and others. The virtuous man finds his enjoyment in dwelling and living with himself. You will find in his soul neither the remorse nor tumults which agitate the vicious. He is happy in the recollection of the good he has done, and in the prospect of that he may yet have it in his power to do.[b] He enjoys his own esteem, by obtaining the esteem of others; he seems to act only for them; he will even resign to them the most splendid employments, if he be persuaded that they can discharge the duties of them better than himself.[c] His whole life is spent in useful activity,[d] and all his actions originate in some particular virtue: he therefore possesses happiness, which consists only in a series of virtuous actions.[e]

I have been speaking of the happiness arising from an active life, dedicated to the duties of society. But there is another kind of happiness of a superior order, exclusively reserved for the small number of

[b] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. c. 4. p. 120. [c] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 13. p. 192. [d] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 187. [e] Id. de Mor. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 9. lib. 10. c. 6 et 7. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 150.

sages who, far from the tumult of affairs, resign themselves to a life of contemplation. As they have divested themselves of every thing mortal in our nature, and only hear, as it were, the distant murmur of the passions, all is peace and silence in their souls, except in that part which possesses the prerogative of command, a divine portion, whether we call it intelligence or by any other name,[f] perpetually employed in meditating on the divine nature and on the essence of beings.[g] They who listen only to the voice of this intelligence are more especially favoured by the Deity; for if it be true, as all nature leads us to believe, that he bestows some attention on human affairs, with what a favourable eye must he regard those who, after his example, place all their happiness in a contemplation of eternal truths![h]

In the conversations held in presence of Lysis, Isocrates pleased his ear, Aristotle enlightened his mind, and Plato inflamed his soul. The latter sometimes explained to him the doctrine of Socrates, or laid before him the plan of his own ideal republic; at others he made him sensible that no real elevation, no perfect independence, can exist but in a virtuous mind. More frequently still he demonstrated to him, at length, that happiness consists in the knowledge of the sovereign good, which is no other than God.[i] Thus, while other philosophers held out no recom-

[f] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 138. [g] Id. Eudem. lib. 7. c. 15. p. 291. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. c. 35. p. 170. [h] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 139; c. 9. p. 140. [i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 505, &c. Brock. Histor. Critic. Philos. t. i. p. 721.

pense for virtue but the public esteem and the transient happiness of this life, Plato presented him with a nobler support.

Virtue, said he, proceeds from God;[k] you can acquire it only by knowing yourself, by obtaining wisdom, and preferring yourself to what only appertains to you. Follow me in my reasoning, Lysis. Your person, your beauty, your riches, are yours, but do not constitute you. Man consists wholly in his soul.[l] To learn what he is, and what he ought to do, he must consider himself in his intellectual powers, in that part of the soul in which sparkles a ray of the divine wisdom,[m] a pure light, which will insensibly conduct his view to the source from whence it emanates. When he has fixed his eyes on this, and shall have contemplated that eternal standard of all perfections, he will feel that it is his most important interest to imitate them in his own conduct, and to assimilate himself to the Divinity, at least so far as it is possible for so faint a copy to approach so sublime a moral. God is the measure of every thing;[n] there is nothing good or estimable in the world but what has some conformity with him. He is sovereignly wise, holy, and just; and the only means of resembling and pleasing him is by filling our minds with wisdom, justice, and holiness.[o]

Called to this high destiny, place yourself in the situation of those, who, as the sages say, by their vir-

[k] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 99 et 100. [l] Id. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 130 et 131. [m] Id. ibid. p. 133. [n] Id. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716. [o] Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176. Id. de Leg. ibid.

tues unite the heavens with the earth, the gods with men.[p] Let your life afford the happiest of conditions to yourself, and the sublimest spectacle to others, that of a soul in which all the virtues are in perfect harmony.[q]

I have often spoken to you of the consequences resulting from these truths, bound together, if I may venture the expression, by reasons of iron and of adamant;[r] but I must remind you, before I conclude, that vice, besides that it degrades the soul, is, sooner or late, consigned to the punishment it merits.

God, as it has been said before our time, passes through the whole universe, holding in his hand the beginning, the middle, and the end of all beings.* Justice attends his steps, ready to punish offences committed against the divine law. The humble and modest man finds his happiness in observing this law; the vain man disregards it, and God abandons him to his passions. For a time he retains his consequence in the eyes of the vulgar; but vengeance quickly overtakes him: and should she spare him in this world, she pursues him with redoubled fury in the next.[s] It is not, therefore, by obtaining honours, and the applauses of men, that we should endeavour to distinguish ourselves, but by labouring for the approbation of that dread tribunal which shall judge us after death with inflexible justice.[t]

[p] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 509. [q] Id. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402. [r] Id. in Gorg. p. 509. * See note XXVII. at the end of the volume. [s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716. [t] Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 526.

Lysis was now seventeen; his soul was full of passion, and his imagination lively and brilliant: he expressed himself with equal facility and grace. His friends never ceased to extol these advantages, and were continually reminding him of the constraint under which he hitherto had lived both by their raillery and their example. Philotimus said to him one day: Children and young people were much more strictly educated formerly than at present. They wore nothing but slight clothing to guard them against the inclemency of the weather, and satisfied the cravings of hunger with the most ordinary sort of food. When in the streets with their masters and relations, they appeared with down-cast eyes, and a modest carriage. They dared not utter a word in presence of aged persons, and were kept in such rigorous subjection to decency, that, when seated, they would have blushed to advance one knee before the other.[w] And what was the result of these clownish manners? demanded Lysis. These unpolished men, answered Philotimus, defeated the Persians, and saved Greece. We should defeat them still. I doubt that much, when at the festivals of Minerva I see our youth scarcely able to bear the weight of a buckler, and performing our warlike dances with so much elegance and effeminacy.[x]

Philotimus next asked him what he thought of a young man, who, both in his language and dress, deviated from all the rules of respect due to society.

[w] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 960, &c. [x] Id. ibid.

All his companions applaud him, said Lysis. And all men of sense condemn him, replied Philotimus. But by these sensible persons, said Lysis, do you mean those old men who are acquainted with nothing but their ancient customs, and who, destitute of all indulgence for our foibles, expect us to be born eighty years old?[y] They have one way of thinking, and their grand-children another. Who is to decide? Yourself, answered Philotimus. Without recurring to our principles relative to the respect and affection we owe to the authors of our being, I shall suppose that you are obliged to travel in remote countries: will you choose a road without knowing whether it be passable, whether it lies through immense deserts and barbarous nations, and whether it be not in certain places infested by robbers?—It would be certainly imprudent to expose oneself to such dangers. I would take a guide.—Lysis, observe that old men have reached the goal of the career you are about to run, a career at once highly difficult and dangerous.[z] I understand you, said Lysis, I am ashamed of my error.

In the mean time the success of the public orators excited his ambition. Having accidentally heard some sophist making long harangues on politics at the Lycæum, he thought himself qualified to instruct the Athenians. He warmly condemned the existing administration; and, like most of the youth of his own age, impatiently waited for the moment when he

[y] Menand. ap. Terent. in Heauton. act. 2. scen. 1. [z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 328.

should be allowed to mount the rostrum. His father dispelled this allusion in the same manner that Socrates convinced a younger brother of Plato of his incapacity to govern the state.

My son, said he to him,[a] I understand that you are inflamed with a desire to obtain the principal direction of the government.—I was, indeed, thinking of it, answered Lysis, with emotion.—It is a noble project. If it succeeds, you will have it in your power to be useful to your relations, to your friends, and to your country; your fame will be spread, not only among the Athenians, but throughout Greece, and possibly, like that of Themistocles, among the barbarous nations.

At these words the young man felt his heart palpitate with joy. To obtain this glory, resumed Apollodorus, is it not necessary to render important services to the republic?—Doubtless.—What is the first benefit, then, that Athens will receive from you? Lysis was silent, in order to prepare his answer. After a moment's pause, Apollodorus continued:—If the matter in question were to raise the family of your friend, you would first think of enriching it; in like manner you will strive to augment the revenues of the state.—Such is my idea.—Tell me, then, what is their present amount, whence they proceed, which are the particular branches that you deem capable of augmentation, and which those that have been totally neglected? You have reflected, no

[a] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 772.

doubt, on all this?—No, father, I have never even thought of it.—You know, at least, the application that is made of the public treasure; and it is certainly your intention to retrench all superfluous expenses.—I must own that I have paid no more attention to this article than to the former.—Well, then, since we know nothing either of the receipt or the expenditure, let us lay aside, for the present, our project of procuring new resources for the republic.—But it is possible, father, to obtain them at the expense of the enemy.—I admit it; but that depends on the advantages you shall gain over him; and to obtain them, must you not, before you determine on war, compare the forces you propose to employ with those he will oppose to them?—You are right.—Tell me, then, what is the state of our army and navy, as well as that of the troops and ships of the enemy.—It is impossible for me to give you an account of this immediately.—You have it perhaps in writing; I should be glad to see it.—No, I have it not.

I can suppose, resumed Apollodorus, that you have not yet had time to apply yourself to such calculations; but the fortresses that defend our frontiers have undoubtedly fixed your attention. You know how many soldiers we maintain in all these different posts; you know likewise that certain places are not sufficiently secure; that others stand in no need of being fortified; and you will declare in the general assembly that such a garrison should be reinforced, and another removed.—For my part, I shall say that they ought all to be removed; for they discharge their

duty very indifferently.—And how are you so sure that our defiles are ill-guarded? Have you been upon the spot?—No, but so I conjecture.—We must reconsider this matter then, when, instead of conjectures, we shall have acquired certain knowledge.

I know that you have never seen the silver mines belonging to the republic, and it is not to be expected that you should tell me why they produce less now than formerly.—No, I never descended into them.—The place in fact is unwholesome, and this excuse will justify you, should the Athenians ever take this subject into consideration But what I shall ask you now, at least, cannot have escaped you. How many measures of corn does Attica produce? How many are necessary for the subsistence of its inhabitants? You will readily grant that this is necessary to be known by those who hold the reins of government, in order to prevent a famine.—There would be no end, were we to enter into these particulars.—What! must not the master of a house keep a watchful eye over the wants of his family, and seek resources to supply them? But if you are terrified with all these minutiæ, instead of taking upon you the superintendence of ten thousand families which inhabit this city, you should first try your strength, and establish order in the house of your uncle, whose affairs are in a very disordered state.—I should soon be able to arrange them, would he but follow my advice.—And do you readily imagine that all the Athenians, your uncle among the number, will more easily be persuaded? Tremble, my son, lest a vain love of glory

should only lead you to disgrace. Do you not feel how imprudent and dangerous it would be to undertake the management of such weighty interests without understanding them? Numberless examples will teach you, that in the most important offices, admiration and esteem are indeed the reward of knowledge and of wisdom; but censure and contempt the consequence of ignorance and presumption.

Lysis was astonished at the extensive information necessary to a statesman,[b] but he was not discouraged. Aristotle had taught him the nature of the various forms of government invented by legislators;[c] Apollodorus instructed him in the nature of the government, the strength, and commerce, as well of his own country as of other nations. It was determined that, after his education was completed, he should travel into all those countries which had any material connexions with the Athenians.[d]

At this time I arrived from Persia, and found him in his eighteenth year.[e] It is at this age that the Athenian children enter into the class of the Ephebi, and are enrolled in the militia: but for the two following years they are not to serve out of Attica.[f] The country, which henceforth considers them as her defenders, requires them to engage, by a solemn oath, to pay implicit obedience to her commands. In the little temple of Agraulos was it that he solemnly pro-

[b] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 21. [c] Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296. [d] Id. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 522. [e] Corsin. Fast. Att. Dissert. II. t. ii. p. 139. [f] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 105. Ulpian. ad Olynth. 3. p. 42.

mised, among other things, in presence of the altars, never to dishonour the arms of the republic, or to quit his post; to sacrifice his life for his country, and to leave it more flourishing than he had found it.[g]

During that whole year he never went out of Athens; he watched over the safety of the city, assiduously mounted guard, and inured himself to military discipline. At the beginning of the following year,[h] on his repairing to the theatre where the general assembly was held, the people bestowed commendations on his conduct, and returned him his lance and shield. Lysis immediately departed, and was successively employed in the fortresses situated on the frontiers of Attica.

Returning at the age of twenty, he had another essential formality to undergo. I have already said, that he was enrolled in his infancy, and in presence of his family, in the register of the curia of which his father was a member. This act testified the legitimacy of his birth. Another was now requisite to put him in possession of all the rights of a citizen.

The inhabitants of Attica, as is well known, are distributed into a certain number of divisions or districts, which form ten tribes. At the head of each district is a demarch, a magistrate whose office it is to convene its members, and to keep the register which contains their names.[i] The family of Apollo-

[g] Lycurg. advers. Leocr. part ii. p. 157. Ulp. in Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 391. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. c. 21. p. 160. [h] Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Περίπολ. [i] Harpocr. in Δημαρχ.

dorus belonged to the district of Cephissia, which appertains to the tribe Erechtheis.[k] In this town we found the greater part of those who have the right of voting in its assemblies. Apollodorus presented his son to them, together with the act by which he had already been admitted into his curia.[l] After the suffrages were taken, the name of Lysis was entered in the register.[m] But as this is here the only record which can ascertain the age of a citizen, to the name of Lysis, son of Apollodorus, was added that of the first archon, not only of the current year, but of the preceding one.[n] From this moment Lysis possessed the privilege of attending at the public assemblies, of aspiring to the offices of magistracy, and of disposing of his fortune as he pleased, should he happen to lose his father.[o]

On our return to Athens, we repaired a second time to the little temple of Agraulos, where Lysis, clad in armour, repeated the oath he had taken there two years before.[p]

I shall only say a word or two on the education of the girls. According to their different conditions in life, they are taught to read, write, sew, spin, prepare the wool for clothing, and to superintend domestic concerns.[q] Such as are of the first families of the republic are brought up with more refinement. As

[k] Isæus, ap. Harpocr. in Κηφης. [l] Demosth. in Leoch. p. 1048. [m] Id. ibid. p. 1047. Harpocr. et Suid. [n] Aristot. ap. Harpocr. in Στρατ. [o] Suid. in Λεξιαρχ. [p] Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 106. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 243. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 155. [q] Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 836 et 840.

they appear from the age of ten, and sometimes from that of seven,[r] at the religious ceremonies, some carrying the sacred baskets on their heads, others singing hymns or performing dances, different masters previously instruct them to modulate their voices, and regulate their steps. In general, mothers exhort their daughters to conduct themselves with prudence;[s] but they pay much more attention to inculcate the necessity of holding themselves upright, of sinking their shoulders, of compressing their bosoms with a broad riband, of being extremely abstemious, and of preventing, by every possible means, a plumpness which might prove injurious to elegance of shape and graceful motion.[t]

[r] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 642. [s] Xen. Mem. p. 837. [t] Menand. ap. Terent. Eunuch. act 2. scen. 3. v. 21.

NOTES.

NOTE I.—CHAP. I.—PAGE 5.

On the Privileges mutually granted to each other by Leucon and the Athenians.

THAT these privileges might be known to all persons engaged in commerce, they were engraved on three columns, the first of which was placed in the Piræus; the second at the Bosphorus of Thrace; and the third at the Cimmerian Bosphorus; that is to say, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the termination of the course pursued by the trading vessels. (*a*)

NOTE II.—CHAP. III.—PAGE 55.

On Sappho.

THE part of the Parian Chronicle which mentions Sappho is almost entirely obliterated on the marble; (*b*) but we read very distinctly that she fled, and embarked for Sicily. It was not, therefore, to follow Phaon, as it is pretended, that she went to that island. It is probable that Alcæus engaged her in the conspiracy against Pittacus, and that she was banished from Mitylene, at the same time with him and his partisans.

NOTE III.—Same Chap.—PAGE 58.

On the Ode of Sappho.

Heureux celui qui près de toi soupire,
Oui sur lui seul attire ces beaux yeux,

(*a*) Demosth. adv. Leptin. p. 546. (*b*) Marmor. Oxon. epoch 37.

Ces doux accens et ce tendre sourire!
Il est égal aux dieux.

De veine en veine une subtile flâme
Court dans mon sein sitôt que je te vois;
Et dans le trouble où s'égare mon âme
Je demeure sans voix.

Je n'entends plus; un voile est sur ma vue:
Je rêve, et tombe en de douces langueurs;
Et sans haleine, interdite, éperdue,
Je tremble, je me meurs.

On reading this free translation, for which I am indebted to the friendship of the Abbé Delille, it will easily be perceived that he has thought proper to avail himself of that of Boileau, and that his sole object was to give some idea of the species of measure invented, or at least frequently employed, by Sappho. In the greater part of her works each strophe was composed of hendecasyllabic verses; that is, verses of eleven syllables, and closed by a verse of five syllables.

Note iv.—Chap. v.—Page 70.

On Epaminondas.

Clearchus of Solos, cited by Athenæus, (c) relates a fact capable of rendering the purity of the morals of Epaminondas suspected; but this fact, which is only obscurely hinted, would contradict the united testimony of all antiquity, and can by no means be reconciled with the rigid principles from which this great man never deviated, even in the most critical circumstances.

Note v.—Chap. ix.—Page 141.

On the Time of celebrating the greater Festivals of Bacchus.

It is presumed that the greater Dionysia, or Dionysia of the

(c) Athen. lib. 13. c. 6. p. 590.

city, began on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion. (*d*) In the second year of the 104th Olympiad, the year in question, the 12th of the month Elaphebolion fell on the 8th of April of the Julian proleptic year 362.

Note vi.—Chap. xii.—Page 173.

On the Plan of Athens.

I thought it not improper to lay before the reader the sketch of a plan of Athens, relatively to the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. It is extremely imperfect, and I am very far from being able to warrant its exactness.

After comparing what ancient authors have said respecting the topography of this city, with what modern travellers have imagined they discovered in its ruins, I have only attempted to ascertain, as accurately as I was able, the position of some remarkable places and edifices. To accomplish this, it was first necessary to determine in what quarter the forum, called the *agora*, that is to say, market, by the Greeks, was situated.

In all the Grecian cities there was a principal place, or square, decorated with statues, altars, temples, and other public edifices, surrounded by shops, and filled at certain hours of the day with the provisions necessary for the subsistence of the people. The inhabitants resorted thither every day. The twenty thousand citizens of Athens, says Demosthenes, (*e*) never cease to frequent the forum, occupied either with their own affairs, or with those of the state.

Among ancient authors, I have preferred the testimonies of Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Æschines, who lived at the time I have chosen. Should Pausanias (*f*) appear in some degree to differ from them, I apprize the reader that it is the forum, as it existed in their time, and not that he speaks of, which is the subject of the present inquiry. The same answer I should make to those who might oppose passages to me, relative to periods too remote from the time of which I speak.

(*d*) Dodwel. de Cycl. p. 298. Id. Ann. Thucyd. p. 165. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 326 et 385. (*e*) Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. (*f*) Pausan. lib. 1.

"THE FORUM, or AGORA.—The position of this place is determined by the subsequent passages. Æschines says, (*g*) "Imagine yourself in the Pœcile (a celebrated portico), for in the forum are the monuments of your great achievements." Lucian introduces several philosophers in one of his dialogues, (*h*) and makes Plato say, "It is unnecessary to go to the house of that woman (Philosophy). On her return from the Academy, she will come, according to custom, to the Ceramicus, in order to walk in the Pœcile."—"At the taking of Athens, by Sylla," says Plutarch, (*i*) "the blood spilt in the forum deluged the Ceramicus, which is within the gate Dipylon; and many persons affirm that it flowed out of the gate, and spread even over the suburb."

Hence it follows, 1st, that this place was situate in the quarter of the Ceramicus: 2dly, that it was near the gate Dipylon, the gate which led to the Academy: 3dly, that the Pœcile was in that place.

Æschines, in the passage I have quoted, gives us clearly to understand that the Metroon was likewise in that place. This was an enclosure and temple, in honour of the mother of the gods. Within its precincts also stood the palace of the senate, a circumstance confirmed by many passages. (*k*)

Next to the Metroon, I have placed the edifices and monuments immediately indicated by Pausanias, (*l*) as the Tholus, the statues of the Eponymi, &c. Taking Herodotus (*m*) for my guide, I have placed there the temple of Æacus; and following Demosthenes, (*n*) the Leocorion, a temple built in honour of the daughters of Leos, who formerly sacrificed themselves, to free the city from the plague.

ROYAL PORTICO.—I have placed this at the junction of two streets leading to the forum. The first is pointed out by Pausanias, (*o*) who proceeds from this portico to the Metroon; the second by an ancient author, (*p*) who positively says, that from the Pœcile to the royal portico, that is to say, between one portico and the other, we meet with several Hermæ, or statues of Mercury terminated in a sheath.

(*g*) Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 458. (*h*) Lucian. in Piscat. t. i. p. 581. (*i*) Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 460. (*k*) Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 458. Plut. Vit. X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητρωον. Harpocr. in ὁ Καθωλαν. (*l*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 12. (*m*) Herodot. lib. 5. c. 89. (*n*) Demosth. in Coron. p. 1109 et 1113. (*o*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 3. (*p*) Ap. Harpocr. in Ἑρμαῖ.

Pœcile and Portico of the Hermæ.—From this last passage, I have placed the Pœcile at the end of a street, which goes from the Royal Portico to the forum, and at one end of the corners of the street fronting the forum. On the opposite corner should be an edifice, sometimes called the Portico of the Hermæ, and sometimes simply by the name of the Hermæ. (*q*) To prove that it was in the forum, it will be sufficient to adduce two testimonies. Mnesimachus, in one of his comedies, has said, "Begone to the Agora, to the Hermæ." (*r*)—"On certain festivals," says Xenophon, (*s*) "it is fitting that the horsemen should pay due honours to the temples and the statues in the Agora. They shall begin at the Hermæ, make the circuit of the Agora, and return to the Hermæ." I have hence supposed, that this portico might terminate the street along which were ranged a series of Hermæ.

The Pœcile was in the forum in the time of Æschines, but was so no longer in the time of Pausanias, who speaks of this portico previous to his visiting the Agora; (*t*) alterations had been made, therefore, in this quarter. I suppose that, in the age when Pausanias lived, one part of the ancient forum was covered with houses; that towards its southern part only one street was remaining, in which were the senate-house, the Tholus, &c.; that the opposite part had extended towards the north, and that the Pœcile had been separated from it by buildings; for the changes I have mentioned had not removed the forum to another part of the city. Pausanias mentions it as near the Pœcile, and we have seen that in the time of Sylla it was still in the Ceramicus, near to the gate Dipylon.

From these observations it will not be difficult to trace out the path taken by Pausanias. From the Royal Portico he follows a street extending along the southern part of the ancient forum; he returns by the same way, and visits some monuments which are to the south-west of the citadel, such as an edifice which he takes for the ancient Odéum (p. 20), the Eleusinium (p. 35), &c. He then returns to the Royal Portico

(*q*) Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 458. Lys. in Pancl. p. 398. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 557. Meurs. Athen. Attic. lib. 1. c. 3. (*r*) Mnesim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. c. 15. p. 402. (*s*) Xen. de Magn. Equit. p. 959. (*t*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 36. c. 17. p. 39.

(p. 36), and following the street of the Hermæ, first repairs to the Pœcile, and afterward to the forum existing in his time (p. 39), which, according to appearances, had formed part of the ancient one, or at least was at no great distance from it. I should be much inclined to attribute the changes it had undergone to the Emperor Adrian.

On leaving the Agora, Pausanias proceeds to the gymnasium of Ptolemy (p. 39), which did not exist in the age referred to in my work; and from thence to the temple of Theseus, which is still remaining. The distance from this temple to one of the points of the citadel was given me by M. Foucherot, an able engineer, who accompanied the Comte de Choiseul Gouffier into Greece, and who, having since visited the antiquities of Athens a second time, has been so obliging as to communicate to me all the information he has acquired from an inspection of the places.

I have followed Pausanias as far as the Prytaneum (p. 41). From thence he appears to me to have re-ascended towards the north-east, where he finds several temples, those of Serapis, of Lucina, and of Jupiter Olympius (p. 42). He then turns to the eastward and traverses a quarter which is without the city, in my plan, and which belonged to it in his time, the walls having been destroyed. He there visits the gardens of Venus, the Cynosarges, and the Lycæum (p. 44); and afterwards crosses the Ilissus, and proceeds to the Stadium (p. 45 et 46).

I have not accompanied Pausanias in this track, because several of the monuments he there met with were posterior to the time I have chosen, and the others cannot be admitted into the plan of the city within the walls: but I again take him for a guide, when, on his return to the Prytaneum, he proceeds to the citadel by the street of the Tripods.

Street of the Tripods.—This street received its name, according to Pausanias, (*u*) because in it were several temples containing tripods of bronze in honour of the gods; which were dedicated in consequence of victories gained by the tribes of Athens in competitions of music and dancing. Now, at the foot of the citadel, to the eastward, several inscriptions have been discovered which make mention of such victories. (*x*) That beautiful structure, known at present by the name of

(*u*) Pausan. lib. i. c. 20. p. 46. (*x*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99. Id. Inscript. in Not. p. xxvii.

the Lanthern of Demosthenes, constituted one of the principal ornaments of the street. It was built of marble, on occasion of the prize decreed to the tribe of Acamantis, under the archonship of Evænetus, (*y*) in the year 335 before Christ, one year after Anacharsis had quitted Athens. Near this monument an inscription has been found in these later times, given among those collected by Mr. Chandler. (*z*) In it the tribe Pandionis decreed a column to be erected, in the edifice belonging to them in this street, for an Athenian named Nicias, who had been their choragus, and had obtained the palm at the festivals of Bacchus, and at those named Thargelia. It further declares, that from that time (from the archonship of Euclid, in the year 403 before Christ), the names of such of the tribes as should gain similar advantages, on certain festivals mentioned in the decree, should be inscribed on the same column.

From what I have said, it is evident that the street of the Tripods extended along the eastern side of the citadel.

The Odeum of Pericles.—At the end of the street I have been speaking of, and before he came to the theatre of Bacchus, Pausanias found an edifice of which he does not tell us the destination. He only observes, that it was built after the model of the tent of Xerxes, and that having been burnt by Sylla during the siege of Athens, it was afterwards rebuilt. (*a*) Let us compare with this testimony what we find in other authors concerning the ancient Odéum of Athens. This theatre (*b*) was erected by Pericles, (*c*) and intended for musical competitions: (*d*) the roof, which was constructed of the masts and yards of the vessels taken from the Persians, (*e*) and in its form imitated the tent of Xerxes, (*f*) was supported by columns of stone or marble. Its shape had furnished a subject for many pleasantries. Cratinus the poet, in one of his comedies wishing to signify that the head of Pericles was of a pointed shape, said that Pericles wore the Odéum on his head. (*g*) The Odéum was

(*y*) Spon, t. ii. p. 100. Whel. book 5. p. 397. Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, part 1. p. 20. Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, c. 4. p. 27. (*z*) Chandl. Inscript. part 2. p. 49. Ibid. in Not. p. xxii. (*a*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 47. (*b*) Suid. in Ωιδ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1104. (*c*) Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 9. Suid. ibid. (*d*) Hesych. in Ωιδ. (*e*) Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 9. Theophr. Charact. c. 3. (*f*) Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. (*g*) Cratin. ap. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.

burnt at the siege of Athens by Sylla, (*h*) and soon after restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. (*i*)

From these passages, collected from different authors, it is very evident that the edifice spoken of by Pausanias is the same with the Odéum of Pericles; and from the passage of Pausanias, that this Odéum was situate between the street of the Tripods and the theatre of Bacchus. This position is confirmed likewise by the authority of Vitruvius, who places the Odéum to the left of the theatre. (*k*) But it may be said that Pausanias had already given the name of Odéum to another structure. I shall soon reply to that objection.

Theatre of Bacchus.—On the south-west angle of the citadel, the ruins of a theatre still exist, which had always been taken for that of Bacchus, in which tragedies and comedies were represented. Dr. Chandler, however, (*l*) has placed the theatre of Bacchus at the south-east angle of the citadel; and I have followed his opinion for several reasons. 1*st*, From observation of the ground, Mr. Chandler is of opinion that a theatre had formerly stood there; and M. Foucherot has since verified the fact. 2dly, Pausanias (*m*) relates, that above the theatre was to be seen in his time a tripod in a grotto hewn out of the rock: now precisely above the spot where Mr. Chandler has supposed the theatre to have stood, is a grotto formed out of the rock, and since converted into a church, under the title of *Panagia Spiliotissa*, which may be rendered *Our Lady of the Grotto*. Let it be observed, too, that the word *spiliotissa* clearly designates the word σπηλαίον, which Pausanias employs to signify this cavern. The reader may here consult what travellers have said of this grotto. (*n*) It is true that above the other theatre, to the south-west, there are two sorts of niches, but it is impossible in any way to confound them with the grotto mentioned by Pausanias. 3dly, Xenophon, (*o*) when speaking of the exercise of the cavalry, which was performed at, or rather near to the Lycæum, says: "When the horsemen shall have passed the angle of the theatre, which is opposite,

(*h*) Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. p. 331, (*i*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hist. p. 189. (*k*) Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 9. (*l*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 64. (*m*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 49. (*n*) Whel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Spon, t. ii. p. 97. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 62. (*o*) Xen. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.

&c.:" the theatre then was on the side of the Lycæum. 4thly, I have said, that at the principal festivals of the Athenians, choruses, taken from every tribe, disputed with each other the palm in dancing and music; that a tripod was bestowed on the victorious tribe, which was consecrated to the gods; that underneath this offering was engraven the name of the tribe, that of the citizen who maintained the chorus at his expense, and sometimes that of the poet who had composed the verses, or the teacher who had exercised the performers. (*p*) I have said likewise, that in the time of Pausanias there existed a tripod in the grotto which was above the theatre. Even at present we see at the entrance of this grotto, a kind of triumphal arch, bearing three inscriptions of different periods, in honour of two tribes who had gained a prize. (*q*) One of these inscriptions is of the year 320 before Christ, and posterior only by a few years to the travels of Anacharsis.

Since we find at the extremity of the Acropolis, and on the south-east side, monuments erected for those who had been crowned at the competitions usual at the theatre, (*r*) we are justified in presuming that the theatre of Bacchus was situate at the termination of the street of the Tripods, and precisely at the spot where Mr. Chandler has supposed it. For, as I have already observed in Chap. XII., the trophies of the victors would naturally be near the field of battle.

The authors who lived at the period I have chosen, speak only of one theatre; for that, the ruins of which are seen at the south-west angle of the citadel, did not exist in their time. I agree with Mr. Chandler, in supposing the latter to be the Odéum which Herodes, the son of Atticus, built five hundred years after, and on which Philostratus bestows the name of Theatre. (*s*) "The Odéum of Patræ," says Pausanias, (*t*) "would be the most beautiful of any in Greece, were it not eclipsed by that of Athens, which surpasses every other in magnitude and magnificence. It was erected by Herodes the Athenian, after the death, and in honour, of his wife. In my

(*p*) Plut. in Themistocl. t. i. p. 114. (*q*) Whel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 5. (*r*) Demosth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612. (*s*) Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. in Herod. lib. 2. p. 551. (*t*) Pausan. lib. 7. c. 20. p. 574.

description of Attica, I have omitted this Odéum, because I had finished my account of Athens before Herodes had begun the building." Philostratus remarks likewise that the theatre of Herodes was one of the most beautiful edifices in the world.(*u*)

Mr. Chandler supposes the Odéum, or theatre of Herodes, to have been erected on the ruins of the Odéum of Pericles. I cannot be of his opinion. Pausanias, who places the latter edifice elsewhere, does not, in speaking of the former, say that Herodes rebuilt it, but that he erected it, ἐποίησεν. On Mr. Chandler's hypothesis, the ancient Odéum would have been on the right of the theatre of Bacchus; whereas, according to Vitruvius, it was on the left. (*x*) Besides, I have already shown, that the Odéum of Pericles was at the south-east angle of the citadel.

We may now conceive the reason why Pausanias, while proceeding along the southern side of the citadel, from the south-east angle, where he found the theatre of Bacchus, says nothing either of the Odéum or of a theatre of any kind; for the fact is, that there existed none at the south-west angle at the time he wrote his first book, which treats of Attica.

Pnyx.—Situate on an eminence at a small distance from the citadel, we still see the remains of a monument, which has been sometimes taken for the Areopagus, (*y*) sometimes for the Pnyx, (*z*) and at other times for the Odéum. (*a*) It is a large space, the enclosure of which is partly cut out of the rock, and partly composed of huge blocks of stone, hewn diamond fashion. With Mr. Chandler, I take it to be the square of the Pnyx, where the people occasionally held their assemblies. And indeed the Pnyx was surrounded by a wall, (*b*) and situate opposite to the Areopagus. (*c*) From this place there was a view of the harbour of Piræus. (*d*) All these marks apply to the antiquity in question. But there is another still more decisive evidence: "When the people are seated on this rock," says Aristophanes, &c.; (*e*) and it is of the Pnyx that he is speaking. I omit other proofs which might be adduced in support of these.

(*u*) Philostr. de Vit. (*x*) Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 9. (*y*) Spon, Voyag. t. ii. p. 116. (*z*) Chandl. Travels in Greece, c. 13. p. 68. (*a*) Whel. book. 5. p. 382. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. i. p. 18. (*b*) Philocr. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 998. (*c*) Lucian. in Bis. Accusat. t. ii. p. 801. (*d*) Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 121. (*e*) Aristoph. in Equit. v. 751.

Pausanias, however, seems to have taken this monument for the Odéum. What must we conclude from this?—That, in his time, the Pynx, which he does not so much as mention, had changed its name, because the people having ceased to assemble there, the musical competitions had been transferred to this place. By comparing with each other all the notices to be collected on this head, we shall be led to conclude that this trial of skill originally took place in an edifice built at the south-east angle of the citadel, which is the Odéum of Pericles; afterwards in the Pynx, the Odéum spoken of by Pausanias; and finally in the theatre, a part of which is still remaining at the south-west angle of the citadel, the Odéum of Herodes, the son of Atticus.

Temple of Jupiter Olympius.—To the north of the citadel some magnificent ruins still subsist, which attract the attention of all travellers. Some (*f*) have imagined that they discovered in them the remains of the superb temple of the Olympian Jupiter, begun by Pisistratus, which was more than once attempted to be completed, the columns of which were conveyed to Rome by Sylla, and which was finally rebuilt by Adrian. (*g*) Their conjectures are founded on the description of Pausanias, which does indeed seem to indicate this position; (*h*) but Thucydides (*i*) expressly says, that this temple was to the south of the citadel; and his testimony is accompanied with particulars which will not allow us to adopt the correction that Valla and Palmerius proposed to make in the text of Thucydides. Mr. Stuart (*k*) has availed himself of the authority of this historian, to place the temple of Jupiter Olympius to the south-east of the citadel, on a spot where some large columns, commonly called the Columns of Adrian, are still to be seen. His opinion has been combated by M. Le Roi, (*l*) who takes the columns in question for the remains of a pantheon of that emperor. Notwithstanding the deference I have for the discernment of these two learned travellers, I had at first suspected that the temple of Jupiter Olympius, placed by Thucydides to the south of the citadel, was an ancient temple,

(*f*) Whel. book 5. p. 392. Spon, t. ii. p. 108. (*g*) Meurs. Athen. Attic. lib. 1. c. 10. (*h*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 42. (*i*) Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 15. (*k*) Stuart, Antiq. of Athens, c. 5. p. 38. (*l*) Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 2

which, according to a tradition related by Pausanias, (*m*) was built in the remotest ages by Deucalion, and that the temple on the northern side had been founded by Pisistratus. This supposition would reconcile Thucydides with Pausanias; but as new difficulties would result from it, I determined to lay down at a venture, in my plan, a temple of Jupiter Olympius to the south of the citadel.

Mr. Stuart has taken the ruins to the northward for the remains of the Pœcile; (*n*) but I hope I have proved that this celebrated portico was a part of the forum, situate near the gate Dipylon. Besides, the edifice of which these ruins formed a part seems to have been built in the time of Adrian, (*o*) and consequently is foreign from my plan.

The Stadium.—I have not assigned the situation of this in my plan, because I imagine it to have been posterior to the times of which I treat. It appears that in the age of Xenophon, it was usual to exercise in running, in a course, perhaps on a road which began at the Lycæum, and extended towards the south, and under the walls of the city. (*p*) Some time after, the orator Lycurgus caused a piece of ground, which one of his friends had given to the republic, to be levelled, and surrounded by causeways. (*q*) Afterwards, Herodes, the son of Atticus, rebuilt and almost lined with marble, the stadium, the ruins of which still subsist. (*r*)

The Walls of the City.—I omit to discuss many questions that might be started relative to the walls which surrounded the Piræus, and Munychia, and those which from the Piræus and Phalerum terminated at the walls of Athens; and I shall only say a word respecting the circumference of the city. It is impossible to determine its form, but we are able pretty nearly to ascertain its extent. Thucydides, (*s*) when enumerating the troops necessary to guard the walls, says, that the part of them necessary to be defended was forty-three stadia in length, and that one part remained which stood in no need of defence, namely, that which lay between the two points where

(*m*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 43. (*n*) Stuart, ibid. (*o*) Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 16. (*p*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 476. Id. de Magist. Equit. p. 959. (*q*) Lycurg. Vit. X. Rhet. ap. Plut. t. ii. p. 841. (*r*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 19. page 46. Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 2. page 550. (*s*) Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13.

the wall of Phalerum on the one side, and that of the Piræus on the other, terminated in the city wall. The scholiast on Thucydides assigns for the length of this part seventeen stadia, and consequently reckons for the whole circumference of the city sixty stadia (or about two leagues and a quarter). Were we to adopt this mensuration, the wall of Phalerum would reach as far as the Lycæum, which is not possible. Some considerable error must have crept into the scholiast.

I have relied in this particular, as well as in laying down of the long walls, and the environs of Athens, on the sagacity of M. Barbié, who after carefully studying the topography of this city, has been so obliging as to execute the feeble essay which I present to the public. As we differ on some capital points concerning the interior parts, it is not just that he should be answerable for the errors that may be discovered in this part of the plan. I might also have covered it with houses, but it would have been impossible to distribute them into streets.

Note vii.—Chap. xii.—Page 184.

On two Inscriptions given in this Chapter.

I have rendered the word ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕ, in the Greek text, by these words, *composed the piece, wrote the tragedy.* Yet as it sometimes signifies, *had prepared or instructed the actors*, I will not answer for my translation. Concerning this word, the reader may refer to the notes of Casaubon on Athenæus (lib. 6. c. 7. p. 260); those of Taylor on the Sandwich Marble (p. 71); Van Dale on the Gymnasia (p. 686); and others.

Note viii.—Same Chap. —Page 193.

On the Manner of lighting the Temples.

The temples had no windows; some received light only by the door; in others, lamps were suspended before the principal statue; (*t*) others again were divided into three aisles, by two

(*t*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 396. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 63.

ranges of columns. The middle aisle was entirely open, and sufficed to admit light into the side aisles, which were covered. (*u*) The grand arcades which we discover in the lateral parts of a temple still subsisting among the ruins of Agrigentum (*x*) have been laid open long after it was built.

Note ix.—Same Chap.—Page 194.

On the interior Columns of the Temples.

It appears that the temples of the Greeks were at first very small. When their dimensions were increased, the roof was supported by a single range of columns within side, above which were others that reached to the roof. This was the method employed in one of those ancient temples, the ruins of which I have seen at Pæstum.

In process of time, instead of one row of columns, they erected two; and then the temples became divided into three aisles. Such was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as Pausanias tells us: (*y*) and that of Minerva at Athens, as M. Foucherot has ascertained by observations on the spot. The temple of Minerva at Tegea in Arcadia, built by Scopas, was of the same kind. Pausanias informs us, (*z*) that of the interior columns, the first order was Doric, and the second Corinthian.

Note x.—Same Chap.—Page 195.

On the proportions of the Parthenon.

According to M. Le Roi, (*a*) the length of this temple was 214 feet, 10 inches, and 4 lines;* and its height 65 feet (French).† Let us convert these measures into Grecian feet, and we shall have about 227 feet for its length, and for its height about 68 feet 7 inches. As to its breadth, that seems to be indicated by the name hécatonpédon (100 feet), which the

(*u*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 396. Vitruv. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 41. (*x*) D'Orville, Sicula. c. 5. p. 97. (*y*) Pausan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 400. (*z*) Id. lib. 8. c. 45. p. 693. (*a*) Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 1. p. 30; part 2. pl. xx. * 229 feet 2 inches English. † 69 feet 4 inches English.

ancients bestowed upon this temple, and M. Le Roi found, in fact, that the frieze of the front was 94 feet 10 inches,* which corresponds with 100 Grecian feet. (*b*)

Note xi.—Same Chap.—Page 197.

On the Quantity of Gold employed in the Statue of Minerva.

Thucydides says (*c*) 40 talents; other authors (*d*) say 44; others again 50. (*e*) I follow the testimony of Thucydides. Supposing that, in his time, the proportion of gold was 1 to 13, as it was in the time of Herodotus, the 40 talents of gold would give 520 talents of silver, which, at 5400 livres the talent, would produce a total of 2,808,000 livres. But, as in the age of Pericles, the drachma was worth at least 19 sols (9½*d.*), and the talent of silver 5700 livres (237*l.* 10*s.*) (see the note which accompanies the table of the value of the Greek money, in vol. vi. of this work), the 40 talents in question were worth at least 2,964,000 livres (or 123,500*l.* sterling).

Note xii.—Same Chap.—Page 198.

On the Manner in which the Gold was distributed on the Statue of Minerva.

The goddess was habited in a long tunic, which must have been of ivory. The ægis or skin of the goat Amalthea covered her breast, and probably her left arm, as we see on some of her statues. The borders of the ægis were surrounded by serpents; and in the field of the buckler, covered with the scales of serpents, appeared the head of Medusa. Thus is the ægis represented on monuments, and in ancient authors. (*f*) But Isocrates, who was still living at the period in which I suppose the younger Anacharsis to have travelled in Greece, observes, (*g*) that the gorgo-

* 101 feet 1 inch English. (*b*) Le Roi, ibid. p. 29. (*c*) Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 13. (*d*) Philocr. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604. (*e*) Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96. (*f*) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8. v. 436. (*g*) Isocr. adv. Callim. t. ii. p. 511.

nium had been stolen; and Suidas, (*h*) speaking of the same fact, adds, that it was forced off from the statue of Minerva. From a passage of Plutarch, (*i*) it appears, that, by this expression, we must understand the ægis.

Let us now see of what the ægis taken from the statue was composed. Not to mention that no person would have stolen it, had it not been of precious materials, Philochorus informs us, (*k*) that the robbery complained of respected the scales and the serpents. The question here has no connexion with a serpent which the artist had placed at the feet of the goddess. That was only an accessory, an attribute that required no magnificence; and Philochorus speaks of serpents in the plural.

From these circumstances, I conclude, that Phidias had made the scales which covered the ægis, and the serpents suspended around it, of gold. This is confirmed by Pausanias, (*l*) who says, that Minerva had on her breast a head of Medusa in ivory; an unnecessary remark, if the ægis was of the same substance, and the head not relieved by the ground of gold to which it was affixed. The wings of the Victory which Minerva held in her hand were likewise of gold. Some robbers, who had got into the temple, found means to detach them; and betrayed themselves by quarrelling about the division of their booty. (*m*)

From different testimonies, which I omit to adduce, it may be presumed that the basso-relievos of the helmet, the buckler, the buskins, and perhaps of the pedestal, were of the same metal. The greater part of these ornaments were still in existence at the period I have chosen. They were carried off some time after by a person named Lachares. (*n*)

Note xiii.—Chap. xiv.—Page 213.

On the Presidents of the Senate of Athens.

Every thing relative to the officers of the senate, and their functions, is attended with so many difficulties, that I shall content

(*h*) Suid. in Φιλαΐας. (*i*) Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 117. (*k*) Philoch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604. (*l*) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 56. (*m*) Demosth. in Timocr. p. 792. Ulpian. ibid. p. 821. (*n*) Pausan. ibid. c. 25. p. 61.

myself with referring my readers to the learned authors who have discussed the subject, as Sigonius (de Repub. Athen. lib. 2. c. 4.); Petav. (de Cycl. dissert. 3. § 43); Sam. Pet. (Leg. Attic. p. 188); and Corsin. (Fast. Attic. t. i. dissert. 6.)

Note xiv.—Same Chap.—Page 219.

On the Decrees of the Senate and of the People of Athens.

Nothing was executed but by virtue of the laws and of decrees; (o) the difference of which consisted in this, that the laws were obligatory on all the citizens, and perpetually binding; whereas the decrees, properly so called, respected only individuals, and were but of temporary operation. It was by a decree that ambassadors were dispatched, crowns bestowed on citizens, &c. When the decree was of such a nature as to comprehend all times and persons, it then became a law.

Note xv.—Chap. xvii.—Page 252.

On a singular Decision of the Areopagus.

To the fact I have given in the text, another may be added, which occurred long after, and in an age when, though Athens had lost all her glory, that of the Areopagus still shone in its meridian splendour. A woman of Sicyon, exasperated at the barbarity of a second husband, and of a son she had by him, who slew a promising youth she had borne by her former spouse, determined to poison them both. After a prosecution before several tribunals that neither ventured to condemn nor to acquit her, the matter was brought before the Areopagus, which, after a long examination, ordered the parties to appear again before the court in one hundred years from that time. (p)

(o) Demosth. in Timocr. p. 787. (p) Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 1. Aulus Gellius, lib. 12. c. 7; et alii.

NOTE XVI.—CHAP. XX.—PAGE 274.

On the Game of Dice.

M. DE PEIRESC had in his possession an antique calendar ornamented with drawings. At the month of January a man was represented holding a dice-box in his hand, and throwing the dice into a sort of a tower, placed on the edge of a chequer-board. (q)

NOTE XVII.—Same Chap.---PAGE 289.

Prices of various Articles of Merchandise.

IN the text, I have given the prices of some articles of provisions, such as it was at Athens in the time of Demosthenes. About 60 years before, in the time of Aristophanes, a workman's pay was 3 oboli (9 sols, or four-pence halfpenny); (r) a race-horse was worth 12 minæ, or 1200 drachmas (1080 livres, or 45*l.*;) (s) a mantle, 20 drachmas (18 livres, or 15 shillings); dress for the feet and legs, 8 drachmas (7 livres 4 sols, or 6 shillings). (t)

NOTE XVIII.---Same Chap.—PAGE 290.

On the Property bequeathed to Demosthenes by his Father.

THE father of Demosthenes was esteemed a rich man; (u) yet he left his son only about 14 talents, nearly 75,600 livres (or 3150*l.* sterling). (x) His inheritance chiefly consisted in the following articles: 1st, a sword manufactory, in which thirty slaves were kept at work. (y) Two or three of the principal ones were each of them worth 500 or 600 drachmas, about 500 livres (or near 20 guineas); the others at least 300 drachmas, 270 livres (11*l.* 5*s.*): their labour was annually worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112*l.* 10*s.*), all expences deducted. 2dly, A manufactory of beds, which employed twenty slaves, worth 40 minæ, or 3600 livres (150*l.*): they produced annually 12 minæ, or 1080 livres (45*l.* sterling). 3dly, A stock of ivory, iron, and wood, (z) worth 80 minæ, or 7200 livres (300*l.* sterling). The ivory was made use of for the bed feet, (a) or the handles and sheaths of

(q) Vales. in Harpocr. p. 79. (r) Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 310. (s) Id. in Nub. v. 1227. (t) Id. in Plut. v. 989. (u) Demosth. in Aphob. p. 896. 901. 904. (x) Id. ibid. p. 895. (y) Id. ibid. p. 896. (z) Id. ibid. (a) Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 48.

swords. (*b*) 4thly, Gall-nuts and copper, worth 70 minæ, or 6300 livres (262*l.* 10*s.*) 5thly, A house, worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112*l.* 10*s.*) 6thly, Furniture, vases, cups, gold trinkets, robes, and the toilet of his mother; 100 minæ, or 9000 livres (375*l.*) 7thly, Money lent out, or employed in trade. (*c*)

Note xix.—Chap. xxii.—Page 333.

On the Weight and Value of some Offerings in Gold, sent to the Temple of Delphi by the Kings of Lydia, and described in Herodotus (lib. 1. c. 14, 50, &c.); and in Diodorus Siculus (lib. 16. p. 452.)

In reducing the talents of gold into silver talents, I shall take the proportion of 1 to 13, as in the time of Herodotus; (*d*) and in estimating the silver talent, I shall follow the tables I have given in this work. They are adapted to the Attic talent, and suppose the drachma of silver to weigh 79 grains. It may be necessary, however, to apprize the reader, that it may possibly have been 2 or 3 grains heavier in the time of that historian. The following is the value of the offerings of gold, according to the weight assigned to them by Herodotus:

	Fr. Livres.	Pounds sterling.
6 large crateræ, weighing 30 talents, worth 390 talents of silver, and of our money	2,106,000	87,750
117 semi-plinths, weighing 232 talents, worth 3016 talents of silver, our money	16,286,400	678,600
A lion, weighing 10 talents, worth 130 talents of silver	702,000	29,250
A statue, weighing 8 talents, worth 104 talents of silver	561,600	23,400
A cratera, weighing 8 talents and 42 minæ, worth 113 talents 6 minæ of silver	610,740	25,147 10*s.*
To these offerings Diodorus Siculus (*e*) adds 360 phials of gold, weighing each 2 minæ; which make 12 golden talents, worth 156 talents of silver, and of our money	842,400	85,100
Total	21,109,140	879,517 10*s.*

(*b*) Demosth. in Aphob. p. 898. Laërt. lib. 6. § 65. (*c*) Id. ibid. p. 896.
(*d*) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 95. (*e*) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 452.

Some differences are indeed to be met with in the calculations of Herodotus and Diodorus; but an examination of these would lead me too far.

Note xx.—Same Chap.—Page 341.

On the Vapour of the Cavern of Delphi.

This vapour was of the nature of mephitic exhalations: it rose only to a certain height. It appears that the earth had been thrown up round the aperture, for which reason it is said that persons descended to this opening. The tripod being thus sunk, it is no difficult matter to conceive by what means the steam ascended to the priestess, without affecting the priests or other persons who stood near.

Note xxi.---Chap. xxv.—Page 389.

On the Plan of a Grecian House.

M. Perrault has given us the plan of a Grecian house, from the description of Vitruvius. (*f*) M. Galiani has published a second, which is unquestionably preferable to that of Perrault. (*g*) I now submit a third to the reader, which the late M. Mariette was so obliging as to draw at my request, and to vindicate by the following memoir.

"I have read, with all the attention I could give, the translation by Perrault of the passage in which Vitruvius treats of the houses in use among the people of ancient Greece. I have had the Latin text before me at the same time; and, to say the truth, have found that the French translator has taken many liberties which the Marquis Galiani has not permitted himself to take in the new Italian translation of the same author which he has lately published. It appears to me that his explanation, and the plan which he has delineated and annexed to it, convey much better than Perrault has done the ideas of Vitruvius. You shall judge for yourself.

(*f*) Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 6. c. 10. Perrault, ibid. (*g*) Galiani, Architet. di Vitruv. ibid.

"From the manner in which the Latin author has expressed himself, it appears that the house of a Greek was properly that which his wife and domestics inhabited. It was neither too spacious nor too ornamented, but it contained all the conveniences which it was possible to procure. The body of the house, which was adjoining to it, and was for the husband alone, was on the contrary only a house for external display, or, if you rather choose the term, for ostentation and parade.

"As it would have been an offence against decency and the manners of the times to enter the former of these houses, it was necessary that to give admission into it, two doors should be opened; the one an outer door opening immediately into the public way, and not preceded by a porch or *atrium*, as in the houses at Rome, and the other an inner door. Each of these doors was attended by its particular porter; for the text, in reference to the lodges of these porters, does not say *ostiarii cellam*, but *ostiariorum cellas*. To reach the second door, after having passed the first, it was necessary to proceed along an alley, or avenue, which was rather narrow, *latitudinis non spatiosa*, and which I suppose to have been of considerable length, as otherwise Vitruvius would not have termed the passage from one door to another a journey; for thus he expresses himself, speaking of this avenue, *itinera faciunt*. It would also not have been necessary to have had different porters, and separate lodges for them, if the doors had been near to each other.

"The habitation, by this disposition, being at a distance from the street or road, was more retired and quiet, and on each side of the alley or avenue which led to it, there was sufficient room to place, on the one side, the stables and coach-houses, or sheds, in which chariots or other carriages might be sheltered from the weather, the store-houses for hay, the places necessary for the dressing of horses; and, in a word, all that we comprise under the general name of *court-yards*, and which Vitruvius calls simply *equilia*. Neither Perrault nor the Marquis Galiani, for want of room, have inserted these in their plans: they have satisfied themselves with marking the place of a stable, but so small, that you must agree with me that it was unsuitable to a house of this consequence.

"On the other side of the avenue I would place, with Vitruvius, the lodges of the porters, and I would also place there the beautiful vestibules which gave entrance into the house of parade I have mentioned above. These would cover, in my plan, the space of ground corresponding to that occupied by the stables. I am obliged, however, to confess that Vitruvius is silent on this subject. But does he not seem to intimate what I have suggested, since he does not leave the avenue in question without remarking that into it opened the different doors which gave access to the interior of the edifices he describes:—*statimque januæ interiores finiuntur.*

"This vestibule, and the apartments which it preceded, being thus under the key of the first door of entrance, did not require a particular porter; and we find, accordingly, that Vitruvius does not assign it one, which he would not have failed to have done, if it had been on the street or road, as represented in the plan of the Marquis Galiani.

"The second door, when arrived at and opened, gave entrance into a peristyle or cloister, having only three corridors or porticos, one in front, and two on the sides. The *prostas*, or what we call the *vestibule*, as more correspondent to our ideas, though this, with the ancients, was a different thing, presented itself in front. This was a place entirely open before, less deep by one third than broad, and having on each side two *antes* or pilasters, which supported the beam or architrave that closed horizontally the top of the opening, in the same manner as a lintel closes that of a door or window.

"Though Vitruvius does not mention them, there must have been three doors of chambers in the said *prostas;* one which opened into the large and spacious halls called *oeci magni*, in which the Grecian women, even of the first distinction, did not blush to prepare and dress wool, accompanied by their domestics, and to employ themselves in useful occupations. A door on the right of the *prostas*, and another opposite, were those of two chambers, *cubicula*, the one called *thalamus*, and the other *amphithalamus;* Perrault has read *antithalamus*, to obtain an antichamber, of which, however, I do not believe that the Greeks ever made use; and besides, if there had been one, it ought, in order to answer the purpose for which it was intended, to have preceded the apartment called *thalamus*, and

not to have been separated from it by the *prostas*, as Vitruvius positively tells us that it was, and as Perrault, obliged in this to conform to the account of his author, has himself observed.

" The Marquis Galiani has made the same observation that I have; but what has induced him to suppose that the *amphithalamus* was a closet dependent on the *thalamus?* Why, taking these two chambers together, has he formed two similar apartments, which he places the one on the right, and the other on the left of the *prostas*, and the working-hall? Did he not perceive that Vitruvius reckons only two single chambers, one on each side of the *prostas*, which is more simple, and more according to the manners of the ancient Greeks? They have not the same names; a proof that each had its particular use, which rendered it necessary that the one should be at a distance from the other.

" If I might be permitted to hazard an opinion, I should suppose that by the *thalamus* Vitruvius understands the bed-chamber, in which the master and mistress of the house slept; and by the *amphithalamus*, the chamber in which the mistress of the house received visits, and around which αμφὶ, (*circum*) were arranged couches, or raised seats for the accommodation of the visitors. It appears to me that the ancient houses of the Greeks had, with respect to the distribution of their apartments, a considerable similarity to those inhabited by the Turks, now the masters of the same country. I shall soon follow this parallel more circumstantially.

" I do not fear that you should refuse me, in a house in which nothing should be wanting, an apartment so essentially necessary as that of a hall for receiving visits. Would you wish that the mistress of the house should be deprived of one, while the house of the master, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently, had a superabundance? And if you will not grant it me in this place, where will you place it? The other apartments of the same house, which are all disposed around the cloister or peristyle, and which have their entrances under the corridors of the said cloister, are already allotted to their several uses. Vitruvius tells us that one was for the daily meals, *triclinia quotidiana;* that is to say, that the master of the house dined there, with his wife and children, when he had no company. In the others, the children and domestics were lodged and slept, *cubicula;* or they served for

wardrobes, pantries, offices, or for kitchens; for there must certainly have been at least one of the latter in a house; and these Vitruvius comprehends under the general denomination of *cellæ familiaricæ*. Thus much with respect to the house called by the Greeks *gynæconitis*, or the apartment of the wife.

" Perrault represents this edifice as crossed to arrive at another more considerable, which the master of the house inhabited, and in which, separated from his family, he lived with the splendour which his rank and condition required. This disposition is disapproved of, and with reason, by the Marquis Galiani, and, in fact, it is demonstrated, that the Grecian women, banished, as we may say, to the most remote part of the house, had no communication with the men without; and consequently the quarter assigned to them ought to have been entirely separated from that frequented by the men. It was not, therefore, proper that it should be open, and continually serve as a passage to the latter. To avoid this inconvenience, the Marquis Galiani, whose opinion I have adopted, has removed to one of the sides the building placed by Perrault in front of the habitation of the women.

" If we take the words of Vitruvius literally, the buildings appropriated to the sole use of the master of the house were in number two; for Vitruvius, in speaking of them, calls them *domus* and *peristylia*, in the plural, and says that these buildings, much more spacious than the house of the women of which he had just spoken, were adjoining to it. But this will appear neither novel nor extraordinary to those who are acquainted with the incorrect style of this writer, who did not pique himself on being a great grammarian. It is customary with him to make use of the plural in a variety of cases which require the singular. Both Perrault and the Marquis Galiani have therefore very properly understood him as speaking only of a single building. I have done the same, and do not see how he can be understood otherwise.

" The second building, more ornamented than the former, was properly, as I have already observed, only a house of ceremony, and for the display of grandeur. In it were only halls of audience and for conversation, galleries or cabinets of pictures, libraries, banqueting-halls, and some apartments for habitation. There it was that the master of the house received the distin-

guished persons who visited him, conversed with his friends, transacted business, and gave banquets and entertainments; and on all these occasions (Vitruvius is positive on the subject) the women did not appear.

"To arrive at these different apartments, it was necessary, in the first place, to cross the magnificent vestibules, *vestibula egregia*. The Marquis Galiani, who reduces these to one only, places that upon the street or road, without accompanying it with any porter's lodge, which in such a case must have been necessary. Mine will not need porters, since they are within the first or outer door of the house. As I have already assigned my reasons for this arrangement, it will not be requisite to repeat them.

"Every apartment had its particular door, which was ornamented, or, if you rather choose the term, furnished, with dignity —*januas proprias cum dignitate*. I should prefer, since a word must be supplied, the expression *furnished*, because the doors in the interior of houses, among the ancients, were only closed by curtains, or pieces of stuff, which were raised, or let down, as occasion required. These doors had their issues under the porticos of a peristyle very different in size from that of the other house; it occupied alone almost the half of the ground on which the entire building stood; and hence it is that Vitruvius, taking the part for the whole, gives, in some passages of his description, the name of *peristyle* to the whole of the edifice. Sometimes this peristyle was distinguished by the peculiarity of having the portico fronting the south, and adjoining to which was the great banqueting-hall, supported by high pillars, raised higher than the three other porticos of the same peristyle. This was then called the *Rhodian portico*. These porticos, to render their appearance more rich and sumptuous, had their walls coated with stucco, and their ceilings ornamented with wainscoting and carved work. Under them the men walked and conversed on business or other subjects, without fear of being disturbed by the approach of women: hence they had the name *andronitides*.

"To enable you to form a tolerably just idea of such a peristyle, I would convey you for a moment to a magnificent cloister of monks, such as there are in several monasteries in Italy. This I

would have supported through its whole circuit by a range of columns. Close to the walls I would place spacious apartments, which should have their issues under the porticos of the peristyles. Some of these I would have open in front, through their whole length, as you may have seen many chapters of monks. Of these open apartments I would make large banqueting-halls, and halls of audience, for such I suppose them to have been among the Greeks; and I am confirmed in this conjecture by those of the same kind which still remain in the thermæ of the Romans. To the principal of these banqueting-halls, which I would place fronting the south, I would give as much extent as the ground would permit, and dispose it in such a manner, that it might conveniently contain four dining-tables, with three couches each, as Vitruvius requires. A great number of domestics might then serve without confusion, and there would still remain sufficient room for the actors who might be employed to exhibit their various performances. This, if I am not mistaken, is a tolerably faithful representation of the superb peristyle described by Vitruvius.

" But you will not imagine, any more than I can, that all the houses of the Greeks were distributed or situate in the same manner as that was of which I have given the plan after Vitruvius, and which he proposes as an example. To be able to build such a one, it would have been necessary to possess a piece of ground equally spacious and regular, and to cut, as the expression is, with no want of cloth. But this could scarcely be expected, especially in a town already built, where every edifice took some particular direction, and where every proprietor was obliged to accommodate himself to the bounds prescribed him by his neighbour. The plan which Vitruvius has given can, therefore, be only understood as of the house of a person of distinction, of a voluptuous Greek whom fortune had favoured—*delicatior et ab fortunâ opulentior*, as the expression of Vitruvius is,—who, not content with having built for himself, caused to be erected, separately, and without the house, two small but very commodious lodgments for the strangers he might entertain, who might there find every convenience, and during the time they occupied them, live in full liberty, as if they were in their own habitations, and go out, or come in, without

giving any disturbance to him who entertained them; for which purpose they had particular doors, and an avenue or passage between their dwelling and that of their host.

" Even at the present time the Turks consider it as a duty to exercise hospitality in *caravanserais*, or inns built in the form of cloisters, which they erect and endow on the high roads, and in which travellers are gratuitously received. This may be considered as a remain of what was anciently practised in Greece. As to what I have above hinted of my idea that the modern houses of the Turks have a resemblance, with respect to their general disposition, to those of the ancient Greeks, their predecessors, I still continue of the same opinion; and shall add, that this could scarcely be otherwise in a country which is not, like ours, subject to the caprice and vicissitudes of fashion. When the Turks invaded Greece, they seized on the edifices and dwellings occupied by those whom they had enslaved. They took up their abode in them, and found them constructed precisely in the manner they could have wished, since the women had in them separate apartments, and were excluded from any intercourse with the men. There was scarcely any thing to alter; it may, on the contrary, rather be supposed that a people addicted to war, and little exercised in the cultivation of the arts, would have followed the plan of these ancient edifices when they erected new ones. Hence it is that in their houses, as well as in those of the Greeks described by Vitruvius, we find so many cloisters, in which, as in the ancient porticos and peristyles, the greater part of the chambers have their doors and terminations.

" The Marquis Galiani says, in one of his notes, that he was tempted to place the house of the master in front, and not on the side, of that of the women, so that the latter should be entered from the former. If he had done this, as he might have done it, he would have conformed to the present disposition of the houses of the Turks; for it is in the front of the habitation that the master of the house resides; it is there that he regulates his affairs, and receives visits. The women are kept in an apartment more retired, and inaccessible to every man but him who has the right to enter it. Yet however secluded the Turkish women may be, they nevertheless receive the visits of ladies of their acquaintance,

Note xxvii.—Same Chap.—Page 455.

On an expression of the Pythagoreans.

These philosophers, observing that every thing which is the object of the senses supposes generation, increase, and destruction, said that all things have a beginning, a middle, and an end. (*s*) Hence Archytas had asserted before Plato, that the sage advancing by the right path arrives at God, who is the principle, the middle, and the end, of whatever is just. (*t*)

(*s*) Arist. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 431. Serv. in Virg. eclog. 8. v. 75. (*t*) Lib. de Sapient. in Opusc. Myth. p. 734.

END OF VOLUME II.

J. G. Barnard, Skinner Street, London.

Note xxiv.—Same Chap.—Page 446.

On the word Νοῦς, Understanding, Intelligence.

It appears that this word originally signified sight. In Homer, the word Νοῶ sometimes means, *I see.* (*l*) The same signification is retained in the word *πρόνοια*, which the Romans have rendered by *Provisio*, *Providentia*. Hence Aristotle says, that intelligence or Νοῦς is to the soul what sight is to the eye. (*m*)

Note xxv.—Same Chap.—Page 448.

On the Words Wisdom *and* Prudence.

Xenophon, after Socrates, (*n*) gives the name of *wisdom* to the virtue which Aristotle here calls *prudence*. Plato likewise gives it occasionally in the same acceptation; (*o*) and prior to both these philosophers, Archytas had said that prudence is the knowledge of what is useful to man. (*p*)

Note xxvi.—Same Chap.—Page 449.

On the Conformity in several Points of Doctrine between the Athenian and Pythagorean Schools.

Aristotle says, (*q*) that Plato borrowed from the Pythagoreans part of his doctrine concerning principles. From them also Aristotle took the idea of that ingenious scale, in which he placed each virtue between two vices, the one erring by defect, the other by excess. See what Theages has said on the subject. (*r*)

(*l*) Iliad. lib. 3. v. 21. 30, &c. (*m*) Topic. lib. 1. cap. 17. tom. 1. p. 192. (*n*) Memor. lib. 3. p. 778. (*o*) In Euthyd. t. i. p. 281. (*p*) Stob. lib. 1. p. 15. (*q*) Metaphys. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 847. (*r*) Ap. Stob. Serm. p. 9.